The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

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VII. How Does the Industry Work?

VIII. The Future of the Industry

By Paul Hutchinson

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MAY 1 1935

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In This Issue

KIRBY PAGE

contributing editor of The Christian Century, and formerly editor of World Tomorrow, has served so conspicuously among the international leaders of the peace forces that his present article, outlining a specific course of action, will be recognized as of unusual importance by peace workers everywhere.

FRED EASTMAN

concludes, with the article in this issue, the discussion of the outlook for theological education which he began last week. Dr. Eastman is a member of the faculty of the Chicago theological seminary. His wide-ranging experience has included service as pastor of a community church, executive of the Red Cross in the period of the world war, secretary of a denominational home mission board, managing editor of an interdenominational church weekly, playright and producer, lecturer on the movies, and membership on the staff of The Christian Century.

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is a Los Angeles attorney who has rendered valiant service in behalf of civil liberties as a representative of the American Civil Liberties union.

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is a professor at Andover Newton theological school, and a brother of Thornton Wilder.

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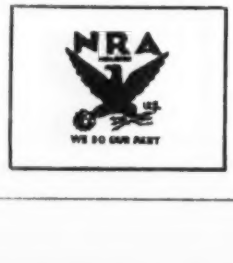
who provides the special correspondence from England during the period while Edward Shillito is recovering from injuries received in an accident, is editor of the Friend, weekly organ of the Quakers of England.



The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

May 15, 1935

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Calendar of Coming Events

May 13. Annual meeting and dinner Chicago Civil Liberties convention, Steuben club, 188 W. Randolph street, Chicago.
May 13, 14. Chicago Baptist association, Englewood Baptist church, Chicago, Ill.
May 13-15. Western Unitarian conference, 83rd annual session, All Souls' Unitarian church, Evanston, Ill.
May 13-15. Annual Disciples convention, Marion, Ind.
May 13-15. Church choir contest and festival, Northwestern university, Evanston, Ill.
May 14-15. N. E. council of federated church women, interdenominational, New Haven, Conn.
May 15-18. Southern Baptist convention, Memphis, Tenn.
May 15-19. Spring meeting of the Methodist board of bishops in Chicago.
May 17, 18. Bach festival in commemoration of Bach's 250th anniversary, Packer memorial chapel, Lehigh university, Bethlehem, Pa.
May 18. "No more war" parade, New York city.
May 19. Interracial mass meeting, interdenominational, Olivet Baptist church, Chicago, Ill.
May 19. International Good Will Sunday.
May 20. Spring banquet, Methodist social union, Bellevue-Stratford, Phila.
May 20-22. Tenth annual meeting of the American association of adult education, Milwaukee, Wis.
May 21. Vermont Methodist conference, Springfield, Vt.
May 21-23. Annual meeting of National council federated church women, Rochester, N. Y.
May 21-23. United Lutheran synod, Fort Wayne, Ind.
May 22, 23. Colorado Congregational conference, Denver, Colo.
May 22-28. United Presbyterian general assembly, Akron, Ohio.
May 23. Western Methodist conference (Norwegian Danish) First church, Los Angeles, Cal.
May 23. General assembly, Presterian church, U. S. A., Cincinnati, Ohio.
May 24. John Wesley's spiritual birthday.
May 24-26. New Jersey state Y.M.C.A.'s convention, Chalfont-Haddon hall, Atlantic City, N. J.
May 25-26. South Wisconsin district of the Walther league, Milwaukee, Wis.
May 27-29. National committee of the Modern Missions Movement, Colgate-Rochester divinity school, Rochester, N. Y.
May 28-June 3. Northern Baptist convention, Colorado Springs, Colo.
May 29. Pacific Methodist conference (Chinese) San Francisco, Cal.
May 30. Utah Methodist mission, Bingham Canyon, Utah.
May 30-June 5. Presbyterian general assembly, Southern Presbyterian church, Montreat, N. C.
May 31. Annual meeting Christian church union, Indianapolis, Ind.
June 3. Indianapolis ministers association, Indianapolis, Ind.
June 9-15. Church conference of social work, national conference of social work, Montreal, Can.
June 4. Baltimore Methodist conference, Foundry church, Washington, D. C.
June 11. Pacific northwest Methodist conference, Moscow, Idaho.
June 11, 12. Grand Lodge, free and accepted Masons, Milwaukee.
June 12. New England southern Methodist conference, Calvary church, Taunton, Mass.
June 12. Wyoming state Methodist conference, Sheridan, Wyo.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

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EDITORIAL

THE most meaningful meeting held in the United States for a year past was held in the Riverside church, New York, on the night before the American fleet sailed for its war maneuvers in the north Pacific. More than two hundred ministers and rabbis, together with a congregation of about eight hundred laymen, gathered to renew and to make explicit the solemn consecration of their lives to peace. Marching in a processional before which were borne, perhaps for the first time in a common religious ceremony, the three symbols of the tablets of the law, the star of David and the cross of Christ, these Jewish and Protestant ministers passed into a deeply moving service which reached its climax in the common swearing of this Covenant of Peace:

"In Loyalty To God"

> In loyalty to God I believe that the way of true religion cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country I support its adoption of the Kellogg-Briand pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction, I therefore renounce war and never will I support another.

It has been frequently charged that, under stress, the pacifism which the churches have manifested in recent years of disillusion would quickly evaporate, and that the ministry would revert to the same sort of war propaganda which it spread twenty years ago. The final test of that belief has not yet come. But it is plain that, as the government's drift toward militarism grows stronger, it is having the effect of consolidating and stiffening the allegiance of the ministry to peace. Gentlemen at Washington will be well advised to take careful heed of what happened at the Riverside church. It is no light matter when such a group takes such a pledge "in loyalty to God."

The War Maneuvers Are Under Way

MEANWHILE, the United States fleet, in greater force than ever before in its history, has set out from Pacific coast ports for more than a month of maneuvers. Divided into two forces, the sailors will play their "war game" in an area which has been plotted to bring them just as close to the home waters of the Japanese fleet as could be contrived without being unquestionably provocative. Despite the cloud of disingenuity with which naval authorities continued to surround the fleet plans up to the moment of sailing, it is now clear that the protests of the peace-loving citizens of the nation have been disregarded and that the maneuvers are to be held in the area and under the conditions which drew the condemnation of hosts of thoughtful Americans when the navy's original announcement was made. The later announcements—which The Christian Century, in its desire not to do an injustice to the administration or the navy, accepted at face value—that the maneuvers would not permit approach within 2,000 miles of Japan are now known to have been a piece of trickery on the part of the navy department's press release service. By "Japan" was meant only the main island of that empire; the maneuvers are being held, as was originally planned, to "defend" the Aleutians and to demonstrate the importance of Midway island as an air base for operations in the western Pacific. That means that they are being held in Japan's front yard. The churches and the other organizations and citizens who have protested have been beaten this time. But it is well to know that they have been beaten, for such knowledge will contribute new depth to the peace purposes of just such companies as countered the opening of the fleet maneuvers with the consecration service in New York.

Britain Celebrates the King's Jubilee

DESPITE undertones of protest from radical quarters, Great Britain has thrown itself into the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the crowning of George V with a surge of emotion not equaled since the diamond jubilee of Victoria. And it is interesting to note the extent to which this same stirring of the folk-pulse has been able to leap the Atlantic and register in this country. The sense of common interest which was manifested so clearly at the time of the king's grave illness half a dozen years ago has again come to the fore in these days when London has been given over to celebration. It is often said that the crown survives in England because of its value as a symbol.

The Englishman finds in it what the American finds in the flag; to the Englishman crown and flag are one and the same thing. Little is to be gained from arguing the worth of symbols. They either have a moving quality or they haven't, and no amount of logical argument can affect their status one way or the other. The king's jubilee, however, must at least show the most iconoclastic of republicans one symbolic value that monarchy may have even under modern conditions. Whatever else George V by the grace of God, etc., may mean to his subjects, he must mean a good deal to them, as he does to other peoples, as a measure of time. To think on what the world was when England's king was crowned in 1911, and compare it with what the world is today, is to feel at once a sense of the mighty rush of the stream of history in which our lot is cast. Behold, old things have passed away; behold, all things are becoming new! Yet at the same time, the figure of the English king is as striking a symbol of the continuing nature of history as of its changes. The sight of the monarch still on his throne, yet attended now by a prime minister who regards himself as a socialist, must furnish reassurance to all who find value in the Anglo-Saxon tradition that it is possible, even under the well-nigh intolerable pressure of events, to pass through great change, to move from one world into another, without tearing life up from the roots.

Young Ministers Ask Questions Concerning Christian Missions

LAST week the National Younger Men's Missionary congress with perhaps a thousand registered delegates, ministers and laymen, brought its four-day session in Chicago to an end. Its purpose was to arouse greater interest in and response to the missionary appeal, and its theme was, "Jesus Christ and the World Today." This theme found further expression in a quotation from the Missionary Review: "Men today, probably as never before, recognize the chaotic condition of the world and the need for a Savior with a divine program and with the wisdom and power of God." Speakers such as Sherwood Eddy, John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer and others were on the program, which also included many committees and discussion groups. It is probably too early to measure the effectiveness of this congress in terms of actual missionary giving, but the following observations can safely be recorded: 1. The leaders were ministers rather than laymen, and older, long-familiar men rather than younger men. 2. The central appeal with which they sought to rekindle missionary enthusiasm was reminiscent of an earlier generation which placed a dogmatic interpretation of the person of Christ and a theory of personal salvation at the center of the world's needs. 3. The program pleased the conservative rather than the liberal members of the congress. 4. It was a definite disappointment to some who gave verbal expression to their disappointment in at least one discussion group, and sought, at the end of the conference—with only partial success—to salvage at least something of a constructive nature from the four-days' session. The expected enthusiasm, therefore, was obviously lacking. That was largely because of a feeling on the part of the younger ministers that the real question had been deliberately avoided. Wherein, aside from the authoritarianism of scripture, and the appeal of personal salvation in Christian terms, does the real justification of missions lie? That question must be faced frankly and without equivocation before any missionary conference can hope to be anything but a disillusionment for its younger, troubled and inquiring members.

The Nation Pays Tribute To Miss Addams

IT was a fitting and a beautiful thing to have the twentieth anniversary of the Women's International league for peace and freedom, held at Washington during the first week in May, made in so large a measure a personal tribute to Miss Jane Addams, Nobel prize winner. And it is well that the country at large should have seen the mistress of the White House turning that symbolic mansion over to a reception in Miss Addams' honor; should have heard a member of the President's cabinet call her the "truest American"; should have watched more than fifteen hundred of the picked leaders of American life come from all quarters of the land to do her honor. For there is a striking and melancholy contrast between the honor paid Miss Addams at the national capital and the way in which her name has been traduced in certain quarters which claim to have almost monopolistic rights in the evaluation of patriotism. Men and women of the stature who attended the Washington tribute to Miss Addams stand tall enough in their own right to perceive her tremendous stature in our contemporary history. But in her own community there are many who use every possible device to belittle her career and to insist that she represents a menace to American institutions and the future of the American dream. It was, alas, all too significant that the press of Chicago did not begin to give the attention to the honors paid Miss Addams in Washington that was given by the press in New York. From Chicago this campaign of detraction has spread out across the nation. Innocent churchwomen in scores of communities are today studying as textbooks in patriotism printed agglomerations of fantastic nonsense which depict this great American as a peril to the republic. It is to be hoped that all such groups have read of the events at Washington. If ever tribute was deserved, the one to Miss Addams was.

Vigilantes in Gallup Prove Mr. Wirin's Charges

IN this issue of The Christian Century Mr. A. L. Wirin tells the dramatic story of violence and mass arrest which has terrorized the little town of Gallup, New Mexico. An unexpected aftermath, coming close upon the heels of the events described by Mr. Wirin, was the kidnaping of Robert Minor, journalist and communist leader, and David Levinson, attorney for the International labor defense. Both these men had gone to Gallup to arrange for the defense of the im-

prisoned miners, when they were kidnaped, presumably by a group of vigilantes, taken more than twenty miles out of Gallup, brutally beaten, and left to recover and find their way back as best they could. This episode, gruesome in every detail, complicates still further the seven issues which Mr. Wirin enumerates in his article. Once again we are called upon to consider what may easily develop into a legal, political and economic tangle, involving issues, prejudices and points of view such as our present society is spawning all over the American map. What are the conditions under which this latest development came to a head? A mining company with its typical depression difficulties; a group of miners who, in their desperate economic plight, insist on their right to organize and to entertain any radical views that they choose; an irritating tenant problem eventuating in evictions; an ensuing conflict with the sheriff and his deputies; a few stray bullets; class war; mass arrest; a murder charge based more on community passion than on evidence; a kidnaping perpetrated by a gang which, if not actually aided and abetted is at any rate not prosecuted by the holders of power. Such is the drama which is now being staged in New Mexico. No one knows where it will appear next; but in the meantime New Mexico must act with promptness and social wisdom if she hopes to save herself from the curse of a partisan administration of justice which has already overtaken a half dozen of her sister states.

England's Arms Inquiry Opens

IT is gratifying to be able to report in the same issue which carries a study of the first half of the American arms inquiry that the similar investigation authorized by the British government has at last got under way. In the Middlesex Guildhall, opposite the houses of parliament in London, the British commission to inquire into the private traffic in armaments opened its public hearings on May 1. There have been fears expressed in many quarters that the composition of the commission and the terms of reference under which it must pursue its labors would tend toward a hasty or superficial series of hearings. Correspondents who attended the opening session of the London inquiry, however, reported that the sort of questions asked by Dame Rachel Crowdy, Sir Philip Gibbs and Mr. J. A. Spender—all of whom are on the commission—indicated that the proceedings were likely to be anything but a whitewash for Vickers and similar corporations. The first witness to appear was Lord Robert Cecil. That veteran statesman, speaking out of his years of experience at Geneva, where he has represented both conservative and labor governments, called the private munitions industry "as repulsive as the slave trade," and declared that, from a moral point of view, it is as deserving of extinction as slavery or the traffic in opium. Lord Robert came out flatfootedly for government ownership and operation of arms factories, and expressed the opinion that, in the light of the revelations before the Nye committee, the American public would be more ready to support an international convention to that end than at any previous time. If there cannot be nationalization of the industry, Lord Robert insisted, there must at least be stringent export and import licensing regulations.

Are Chain Letters a Hopeless Evil?

THE nation seems to be in for another epidemic of chain letters. Chain letters are a nuisance; many of them are examples of childish superstition; some of them are clearly illegal; often they smack of blackmail; seldom do they read like anything but a racket. Knowing all these things—and a lot more—the editorial muscles were just getting flexed for a really worthy effort on the chain letter evil, a blast that would dispose of the matter forever and a day, when out of the mail popped this mimeographed example:

> Dear Sir: Do not break this chain to prevent war! Face the facts! "Truly war is insanity. It is downright lunacy. War leaves the runts, the scrubs and the morons at home; then sends the best of the breed to the slaughter." "The world war cost us 100,000 killed, 190,000 wounded, and 22 billion dollars directly. The post-war cost to us has been estimated as high as 200 billion dollars."
>
> Is it not worth ten cents to *you* to help prevent war?
>
> Do not break this chain. Make five or more copies of this letter within 24 hours. Send these letters to your friends. Then send 10 cents wrapped in paper to The Christian Century, 440 South Dearborn street, Chicago, for a copy of "The Arms Inquiry" (24 pages). This is a fully rounded, carefully documented summary of all that has been disclosed by Senator Nye's committee on the investigation of the munitions industry. "No more sensational revelations of the reasons why war persists have ever been made."
>
> Have faith and hope that war can be prevented.
>
> Weigh this simple duty against your life, the life of a friend, a sweetheart, brother or son. Surely it is better to *fight war* than to fight in a preventable war.
>
> Do not break this chain. Do your share.

Extra copies were offered from the Churchmen's Planning commission, whatever that may be, Y.M.C.A., Denver. Whether the whole thing is a hoax, or just an idea that somebody is trying to get started, there is no way of telling. But reading it over, it must be confessed, has made it hard to write that expected editorial on the evils of the chain letter racket.

Peasant Uprising in The Philippines

A REBELLION which threatens to assume wide proportions has broken out in the Philippine islands with a spontaneity and a vigor which has startled not only local officials but the American government. More than three score persons have been killed, and armed struggles have been reported in Rizal, Laguna and Bulacan provinces. This uprising, led by the Sakdal party, is the culmination of many years of economic unrest among the peasant groups. These Sakdalistas have led many demonstrations against high taxes. They have clamored for immediate independence, claiming that the "transition period of ten years" before the Tydings-McDuffie law grants Philippine independence is "a bluff and an unnecessary delay," and should be

abolished. As so often happens, some one had to declare publicly that this rebellion was an irresponsible outburst under communist auspices. This time the charge came from Resident Commissioner Francisco Delgado. Señor Manuel Quezon, president of the Philippine senate, and outstanding candidate for the presidency, described Señor Ramos, the absent leader of the rebellion, as an "irresponsible demagogue" whom he once discharged from his service. He also characterized the rebellion as "a natural expression of the times which incite men to drastic action." These explanations, however, still leave some things unexplained. The Sakdalists are simple peasants, and their leaders deny that they are communists. Their intolerable economic plight is a known fact and accounts, at least partially, for a state of mind which such professional *politicos* as Delgado and Quezon would not readily understand or admit. The officials, moreover, control all communications with the outside world, and render an impartial survey of facts impossible at this distance. Americans would do well, therefore, to withhold their judgment of the peasant rebels until they have had an opportunity to tell their part of the story.

Who Determines Military Policy?

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has dealt swiftly and courageously with the attempt to establish a "camouflaged" air base from which an air attack could be launched against Canada. Hardly had last week's issue of The Christian Century, which contained a demand for some explanation of this silly and provocative proposal, gone to press when there came from the White House one of the most blistering letters of reproof ever written by a chief executive. To be sure, the President loosed the vials of his wrath on Congressman John J. McSwain as chairman of the house military affairs committee, holding the committee responsible for making public the testimony of the army generals involved rather than holding the generals responsible for giving such testimony. But Mr. Roosevelt also specifically disavowed, for himself and for the government, any sympathy with the ideas which the generals advocated.

The issue, our readers will remember, arose over publication of the testimony given before the house committee by General Charles E. Kilbourne and General F. M. Andrews. The committee was considering the Wilcox air base bill, and General Kilbourne, at that time assistant chief of staff in charge of war plans, and General Andrews, head of the general headquarters air force, were naturally called on by the committee to explain the bill's provision. General Kilbourne, as a matter of fact, testified in a manner which indicated that he was the real author of the bill.

General Kilbourne pointed out to the committee that, in addition to six other major air bases, there was a provision for an "intermediate" base near the Canadian border, from which it would be possible to launch an air drive against the industrial centers of the neighboring dominion. To soothe Canadian susceptibilities, he told the committee, it had been necessary to "camouflage" this provision, but he assured the committee members that the base contemplated would be fully as powerful as any of the other bases for which the bill would provide. General Andrews backed his brother officer with a strategic pep speech which asserted that the army must not only be prepared for eventualities in the form of air engagements in Canada, but it must regard Newfoundland, St. Pierre and Miquelon, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad, British Honduras and the Lesser Antilles as potential enemy air bases which it must be in a position to seize at any time when "the situation is sufficiently vital to require it."

Naturally, the publication of such testimony—a mistake, Mr. McSwain admits, in view of the fact that the officers appeared before an executive session of the committee—started a storm. Canada had already made the inquiries which precede an official protest when President Roosevelt came down in wrath on the whole business. It may be well to reproduce a part of the President's letter:

> Referring to page 16 of this printed document, I desire to inform your committee that certain portions of the testimony of General Kilbourne, especially those relating to the Canadian border, do not represent either the policy of this administration or that of the commander-in-chief.
>
> In the statement of General F. M. Andrews, many portions of said statement, especially those relating to the territory of friendly nations, in Canada, in the Atlantic, and in the West Indies, do not represent the policy of the administration or of the commander-in-chief.
>
> I can go further and state that they do not reflect the views, purposes or motives of the United States government. This government does not in any of its plans or policies envisage the possibility of a change in the friendly relationship between the United States and any foreign country.

Well said, Mr. President; well said, indeed! A host of your countrymen will be grateful to you for having dealt thus with the immediate issue raised by the publication of the Kilbourne-Andrews testimony. This settles that issue; settles it permanently; settles it as it should be settled.

But is the President aware that in thus disposing of the mischief-making proposals of the two army leaders he has raised an even larger issue? And that is the issue as to who determines the military policy—using that term to apply to army, navy and air force programs—of the United States. If these two generals were not speaking for the army, nor for the war department, nor for the commander-in-chief, when they appeared before the house committee, did the house committee know it? There is nothing in the record to indicate that it did. Indeed, the attempt on the part of General Andrews after the storm broke to state that he had been speaking only in a personal capacity indicates that he knew the house committee had not been clear on that point at the time of his testimony.

The President, and the nation at large, will recognize the seriousness of this situation if they will consider the

state of affairs that would have existed had the testimony of the generals not been published. Suppose the clerks in Congressman McSwain's office had not made the mistake he now says they made; had not sent the transcript of what the two generals told the committee to the public printer. What then? Why then, simply, there would have been no outcry, no protest, no fuss of any kind. The members of the committee would have gone right ahead believing that the bill they were considering—the Wilcox air base bill—was another bill prepared by the technically qualified soldiers in the war department; another bill which experts in military matters demanded as a necessity for national defense; another bill whose cost could be justified as required by the plans of the war department. It would have been considered in the committee on that basis; brought to the floor of the house on that basis; and probably—considering what has happened to other military appropriation bills in this congress—passed on that basis.

Does not the President see that it will not do to attempt to dismiss the appearance of the two generals and their testimony before the house committee as nothing more than the irresponsible expression of personal opinion? These men held key positions in the war department; it was that which made their evidence before the committee important. If the committee was not justified in assuming that they were speaking for the war department, then it can never assume that any officers appearing in support of any bill are speaking for the war department. Neither is the issue dismissed by arguing that the Wilcox bill is not affected, but only the personal arguments by which the generals sought to uphold the necessity for the bill. For if the arguments were unwarranted, then the bill was unwarranted.

Here were two high ranking officers appearing before a congressional committee in support of a bill which that committee believed the war department wanted passed. The bill involved two important things: first, a new departure in military policy; and second, the appropriation of public funds. The second was bound to follow the approval of the first. To justify the approval of the first, the two officers—holding the highest army posts which deal directly with the military policy involved, General Kilbourne in charge of war plans, General Andrews in charge of aviation—gave an interpretation of army strategy which has been repudiated by Mr. Roosevelt in the name of the administration, the army and the whole government.

If this has happened with regard to this particular air base bill, does it mean that other officers—navy as well as army officers—have been asking congress to adopt bills involving similar changes in policy and similar expenditures of the public funds for reasons which do not have the approval of the war and navy departments and of the commander-in-chief?

This is no question for the President to play fast and loose with; he must know that a deep disquiet has been spreading through the nation at the unprecedented size of appropriations for the army and navy, and at certain recent developments of policy in both services. General MacArthur's proposal to introduce military training into the expanded CCC has not been popular anywhere save in militaristic quarters. Admiral Reeves' orders for unparalleled naval maneuvers in Japan's front yard have been actively resented by a large portion of the nation. But it is one thing to have such policies emanate from an administration which has considered them thoroughly and is willing to bear the responsibility for them, while it is a far different thing—it is a thing calculated to undermine all public confidence in the responsibility of the administration—to face the possibility that these may be just the individual whims of a general who likes to see boys drilling or of an admiral who would like to see how it feels to command the largest armada in our history in an ocean zone of danger.

The state of the world is far too dangerous, and the rapid increase of army and navy appropriations far too ominous, to permit the least possibility that the nation may be asked to accept major changes in military policy for reasons which have not the full weight of the administration behind them. And the President has no right to expect congress to give the slightest consideration to any bill involving the operations of either of the fighting services—let alone vote its approval—unless that bill does represent the careful judgment of both administration and commander-in-chief. Mr. Roosevelt threatens to keep officers from testifying before congress in the future if their testimony is not kept secret. With all respect, he needs to be told that this is not the main question. It might even be better to require that all such testimony be made public than to require that it be kept secret. The public is interested, no less than the President, in knowing what kind of arguments the officers are bringing to bear upon congress. But the main question is as to whether officers will be permitted to push war plans and advance arguments which do not represent the administration.

Mr. Roosevelt owes it to congress and to the nation at large to clear up beyond any possibility of misunderstanding this issue which he has himself created.

The Glory That Was Greece

(EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE)

Athens, April 9.

IT is something of a novelty for me to be living in the ancient past. My rule in visiting a country is to get in touch at once, and as intimately as possible, with the contemporary life of the country. But in Greece it is another story. Here the visitor is lured by history and the ruins of ancient monuments. There is a Greece which is contemporary enough, as all the world knows since the so-called "revolution" of six weeks ago. But I soon found on arrival in Athens that no great principles were involved in that uprising. It was hardly more than a case of the "outs" wanting to get in, and the "ins" insisting on staying in. It is true that the Venizelos party represented somewhat more liberal ideas than the party in power, but not sufficiently liberal to make much difference. It is now generally

conceded that his attempt at a *tour de force* was a blunder, the result of an ambition grown desperate by advanced age and the consciousness that its realization must be now or never.

The failure of the insurrection has left the conservative party in full control, a control which is daily tending toward dictatorship. There is no single outstanding leader as in Italy and Turkey and Germany. But there is an oligarchy which is determined to rule and which now has the power to do so; at its head is a duumvirate consisting of Prime Minister Tsaldaris and Minister of War Kondylis who have shaken hands in an agreement that neither will alone assume dictatorship but that they will share the responsibility of government together. They are recognized by the members of the oligarchy and by the people generally as the logical persons to stabilize the situation.

Everything is being done to simplify the exercise of their authority. The parliament will be reduced to a unicameral basis by the abolition of the senate; an election will be held in a month or two, which will certainly be fashioned on the Hitler or Mussolini model with practically only one party in the field; and the ranks of the Venezelos party are daily being decimated by the announced desertion of its former leaders to the party in power. There are certain aspects of the political situation upon which I should like to write, but the spirit of the past has taken hold of me and so preoccupied my mind that I probably have not gained any knowledge of the contemporary scene in this country which my readers have not already acquired from the newspapers. Perhaps an exception should be made of the religious situation here, concerning which I have learned some interesting facts of which it may be possible to write at another time. But for the most part I have given my contemporary self a holiday, yielding to the charm of the glorious past of this classic land.

Most of us, I suppose, think of the Parthenon when we think of Athens. And it is the first object of interest which one sees in the approach to the city by automobile from the ship at Piræus. Your driver, barred against conversation by difference of language, abruptly breaks in upon the silence with a gesture and the one word "Acropolis!" There it is indeed, its lofty head raised above the whole city and crowned with the Parthenon. You peer at it in wonder through the low windows of your car, and rub your eyes to make sure that what you see is not just another photograph, but the great reality itself. But one does not hurry away after breakfast to visit the Parthenon. That is too abrupt, too crude, even profane. There it stands—so chaste, so vast, so high—and it has stood there so long; it will wait until one's mind is made ready to approach it. So you find a window in the hotel giving off the corridor from which the Parthenon is visible. And as many times a day as one passes this window a little time is taken to behold the mighty columns and to stir the imagination with curiosity and awe.

One decides to see other things before actually going to the Acropolis. A walk through the royal gardens and down to the stadium where the Olympic games are held; an hour at the Olympian Temple of Zeus where stand nine colossal columns close together and two detached in lonely grandeur like two brave unwearied sentinels, while one lies prone and broken where the earthquake flung it in 1852. There is a touch of sadness, of Olympian sympathy for the fluted giant which, having stood for more than two thousand years and witnessed the carrying off of so many of its fellows, at last gave up and fell in final futility. Through Hadrian's arch one goes to the Corinthian monument of Lysikrates, and the Dionysiac theater, and the Odeon, up to the very foot of the Acropolis—but one does not feel ready to make the ascent. All the time the Parthenon has been in view. Its majesty fills the back of the eye even when reverent attention is focused on the ruins of another temple or arch or monument, and is caught by the tail of the eye as one turns a corner or steps out of a ruin or shop or hotel.

You spend a day in the National museum, among the vases and vessels of antique Greece, the statues, the frescoes, the steles, the countless and incomparable survivals of classic Greece and the Greece of Roman and Byzantine times. It is all a discipline in self-restraint and a preparation of eye and mind and heart for the Parthenon.

Then you arise on the morning of a day dedicated to the Acropolis. The mood is of one about to be initiated into some august mystery. Guides offer their services—but they are not wanted. Together the two of you with a manual in hand—a guide which will speak when spoken to, and always quietly—sit down upon a huge rock outside the Beule gate in sight of the Propylaea, the little Temple of the Wingless Victory and the bastion on which stood the monument to Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus. You can see the top portions of the Erechtheion, but the Parthenon itself is not visible from this angle so close to the rock. Yet you know it is there, behind and beyond all this mass of awesome and exquisite approach.

For two hours, sitting here in the outer court, you read and check your reading with the eye. Deciding at last to go on, tickets are bought at the Beule gate. Slowly, with constant reference to the manual and identification of every detail in the scene before you, the ascent leads up the steps of the Propyleum. You tarry long enough to give a caress of the mind to the Temple of the Wingless Victory, surely the most exquisite piece of architecture ever constructed. Then appear two great structures before you—on the left the Erechtheion, on the right the Parthenon. But your eyes, disciplined in worshipful restraint for three days, have grown stubborn. They refuse to see the Parthenon until all else is out of the way.

So you turn to the Erechtheion on the left and, following the manual, identify each part and feature. Upon the columned north porch you sit and study the interior arrangement and the ornamental sculpture of the porch itself, so refined and delicate that it seems incredible. From this vantage point you sweep with a single glance the entire northern part of the city of Athens. Then around to the south porch, whose roof rests upon the heads of six maidens, called Caryatides because it is supposed that they were captives put into

slavery on account of some disloyalty of their town, Caryae, to the Greek federation. Their lovely faces, facing the centuries in immovable calm, have been made familiar to the whole world.

All this time, while you are studying and enjoying the Erechtheion you are conscious of a mightier presence from which you hold aloof until the eye has been emptied of all else. The entrance to the Parthenon is at its east end, and the way thither leads straight up from the Propylaea along a pavement in whose rocks have been cut grooves to give a sure foothold. So you go back, now, to the Propylaea and imagine yourself in the Panathenaic processional moving forward to the east entrance of the Parthenon. All restraint is now relaxed. There are no inhibitions. The pent-up curiosity, awe and expectation are now unleashed. All that is within you goes out to meet the splendor of this most perfect structure which has ever come from the hand of man.

The guide-manual is now of little use, or of only subordinate use. You do not ask it what you should see. You turn to it now to identify what you do see. The Parthenon speaks for itself. Every feature has its own tongue, and all its voices are hushed and harmonized in the music of the whole. You walk around the peristyle, just to get the "feel" of its spacious grandeur. You linger in the cella where the ancient altar to Athena stood, and note the washed-out Byzantine painting on the west wall, testifying to the fact that this pagan temple was once used as a Christian church. You note an alien structure built into the southwest corner and, peering into a low door, you see the foot of a winding stairway. You guess that this was the bastion of the minaret which the Moslem Turks put here when they converted the Parthenon into a mosque, and that this was the stairway which the muezzin climbed when he called the people to prayer. Your guess is later confirmed by the manual.

But no subsequent history is allowed to clutter the mind. It is the original conception and purpose and glory of the Parthenon that holds your thoughts. Here the genius of Phideas came to its consummate flowering in the structure of the Parthenon, in its decorative friezes and pediments and in the colossal bronze statue of Athena which dominated the temple area. Others labored with him—Alkemenes, Iktinos, Mnesikles. The assembly of the Athenians backed him—with the treasure taken as spoils of the Persian wars! The mutterings of discontent at so vast an outlay were stilled by the eloquence of Pericles in a speech from the bema of the Pnyx, from which vantage point the orator and his audience could see in ensemble and detail the glory of the rising shrine.

I cannot describe the Parthenon. The technical language of art and architecture does not flow easily to the point of my pen. Of pediments and triglyphs and metopes and architraves and mutules and guttae and geison, I cannot speak. But I can write of myself as I stand in the presence of the remains of this immortal vision, and tell how I came into the Presence and opened my awed heart to its beauty and power.

A few days later we came again. There were four of us now. The whole day was spent even as we spent the first. At sunset, just before the gates were closing for the night, we seated ourselves near the Erechtheion, in full view of the Parthenon and I read aloud a poem by Gertrude Huntington McGiffert, whose husband, the late Professor Arthur C. McGiffert of Union Theological seminary, is known by name at least to everyone who reads these pages. I had heard Mrs. McGiffert read her poem at the home of her son some months ago in Chicago and was much moved by it, and there I resolved that if ever I visited the Acropolis I should take her poem with me. So I read it as we sat together in the cooling twilight facing the heroic pile.

> Transpose the Parthenon. Strike out the frieze.
> Build shorter, narrower, of dull grey stone—
> Keyed to a prudent rhythm, colder tone.
> Deny it sun and space, accessories
> Of hill and sea and mountains, subtleties
> Of radiant moods. Obliterate its own
> Close sisterhood of temples, or alone
> Drop Phidias from the age of Pericles.
>
> No random will transmuted all this grace
> Of mind and mood, of circumstance and place.
> Had careless star once changed its glittering rhyme,
> Had one man's rectitude, one guilty rose,
> Failed through the linked centuries, who knows
> What shifts had blotted Athens out of time?

In these lines I think I catch the philosophic insight of Bergson and Whitehead and Wieman. There is a principle or power working creatively throughout the cosmic order, in which each star, each rose, each man's rectitude has its place. Things "work together" to produce whatever is. The "principle of concretion," Whitehead calls it; the "carrier of possibilities," Wieman calls it. Looking back at any moment in the creative process we can see how a slight shift among its infinite complex of factors might have changed the final result. Thornton Wilder faced the same situation at his Bridge of San Luis Rey. It is a precarious universe in which we live, not a static, established universe, but a poised system—a universe in everlasting suspense. That is what creativity means. That is what invests "one man's rectitude" with infinite importance. There might have been no Parthenon. Athens, indeed, might have been "blotted out of time." But Athens emerged. And the Parthenon is here—or it was here—no, it *is* here!

We descend the western slope of the Acropolis with hushed hearts, pondering both the evanescence and the immortality of the work of man.

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON.

Spring Plowing

THE ink-scrawl unrolling from the plow
Writes the poem of earth's compliance to man's will;
Furious-straight as a sun-shaft, it wavers now,
Down the meadows, over the fields, to the city beyond the hill.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

A Program for Peace Action

By Kirby Page

IT is all very well to tell us that modern civilization is threatened with destruction through warfare between nations and between classes, but what can we do about it? This cry is heard frequently these days in forums and discussion groups. It is not enough to point out that deliverance can come only through a combination of evangelism, agitation, education, organization and social pressure. How evangelize? How agitate? How educate? How organize? How exert social coercion? Those are the questions people are asking. But many of them do not know where to take hold and are frequently overcome with a sense of impotence. Just what can an individual do?

Personal Evangelism

1. He can engage in "personal work," to use an old phrase with new meaning. He can talk with friends and acquaintances and endeavor to awaken and stir them to action, putting deeper content into the evangelistic call to surrender. Conversion is incomplete and unsatisfactory unless it includes conversion from the method of war to the way of the Prince of Peace, and conversion from competitive struggle for special privilege to cooperative endeavor in behalf of the common good. Face to face conversation has often been the means of converting a man to a new way of life. Talking earnestly and intelligently for half an hour daily in a friendly manner is one of the most effective ways of undermining capitalism and the war system. Systematic conversation has often been used as a means of winning men to Christ. A few students, by carefully dividing the names of persons to be interviewed, could soon talk personally with every member of their class about the Christian attitude toward war and capitalism. A small group of serious-minded men and women could, within a brief period, converse with every member of their church about these life-and-death problems. An "every-member-canvass" concerning social justice would yield rich dividends in deeper consecration and more resolute action. Such a procedure would instill deeper vitality into Epworth leagues, Christian Endeavor and Baptist young people's societies and cabinets of the Student Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s.

Group Evangelism

2. A Christian radical can become a member of a gospel team and participate in the process of group evangelism. A wider and deeper message can be conveyed in an old, familiar way. Many of us in our college days were members of gospel teams that went into neighboring communities and conducted evangelistic meetings. The anti-war crusade may be waged in this way. Teams from colleges, churches and young people's societies can make systematic presentations in behalf of Christian pacifism and social justice. The case for international agencies of justice and for a cooperative commonwealth may, after serious preparation, be presented effectively. Street meetings offer an opportunity to reach people who are often otherwise inaccessible. A pastor may team-up with an economist, a business man and a labor leader in systematic discussion in the homes of church members assembled in convenient groups.

3. Private prayer and corporate worship are indispensable means of social evangelism. Intercession has always been practiced by prophets of religion, and group intercession possesses special potency. Since the odds against religious revolutionists are terrific, an extra responsibility rests upon them to appropriate the values of spiritual communion. Such individuals should seek opportunities to enrich regular services of worship by injecting a more vital social content. If Jesus' experience of comradeship with God was real and if present-day Christians are expected to follow steps that lead to the cross, prayer is both a privilege and a necessity. He also works who prays.

Dramatic Demonstrations

4. A Christian radical should participate in appropriate parades, mass protests and mass demands if such demonstrations are non-violent in nature and objective. People must be startled out of lethargy and acquiescence by dramatic outbursts on the part of determined minorities. Quiet methods of education must be supplemented by spectacular appeals to ear and eye. A well-organized parade, with bands, banners and placards can challenge the attention of an entire community and produce endless discussion. An outdoor mass meeting with stirring music and vigorous addresses is more than merely educational in nature, as it is also challenging and stimulating to action. Mass demonstrations may take the form of protests against such evils as armed preparedness, provocative naval maneuvers and the R.O.T.C., or they may be staged as a means of supporting the League of Nations or desirable social legislation.

5. Anniversaries and special occasions should be utilized as convenient times for mass demonstrations against war and social injustice and in favor of a new economic order. Labor Sunday, preceding Labor day, in September, should be used as a time to emphasize the validity of collective bargaining and to stress the need for a powerful labor movement. Race Relations Sunday in February offers a favorable opportunity to hold mass demonstrations against lynching, segregation, discrimination and other evil practices. Armistice Sunday should be utilized not only for anti-war sermons at regular church services, but also for community-wide demonstrations, including a parade to a mass meeting. In some cases it may be preferable to stage the community anti-war demonstration on November 11, and to use the preceding Sunday for numerous peace programs at church services and young people's societies. Another strategic date is April 6, the anniversary of the

entrance of the United States into "the war to end war." The Sunday preceding should be used for sermons and class discussions in preparation for the anti-war parade and mass meeting on April 6. International Good Will day in May offers another opportunity for public demonstrations in favor of international friendship and cooperation.

Mass demonstrations by pacifist radicals should be kept entirely separate and distinct from parades and meetings under communist auspices or under a united front with communist agencies. The reason for this sharp cleavage is not because pacifists are "too good to associate with communists," but because communists believe in the war method and advocate the ultimate arming of the workers and the violent seizure of power. Radical Christian pacifists, on the other hand, repudiate not only imperialistic war but the entire method of war, including class war, as distinguished from non-military class struggle. It will not be necessary for Christians specifically to exclude communists from their pacifist demonstrations if they emphasize the fact that the parade or strike or mass meeting is a demonstration against the whole war-method, whether the war be between nations or classes.

Mass Demonstrations

6. The strike is a legitimate method to use in protesting against specific abuses and evils. If a group of Christian pacifist students are refused exemption from military training in a state university or college supported by public funds, they should feel free collectively to refuse to attend military drill, although they must be prepared to accept expulsion. Mass demonstrations are urgently demanded against the policy of compelling students in many educational institutions to submit themselves to training in killing. A parade, participated in by students, faculty members and citizens in general to a legislative hall to protest against the R.O.T.C. would dramatize the issue and focus public discussion upon the problem.

7. Posters, placards and display advertisements should be used widely. Protests may be heralded and demands voiced in this dramatic fashion. Temporarily unrented stores may sometimes be secured without cost for window displays. Numerous anti-war posters are now available in inexpensive form. Information may be secured from World Peaceways, Inc., 103 Park avenue, New York city, and from the National Council for the prevention of war, 532 17th street, N. W., Washington. Posters may also be used in behalf of workers during strike situations.

8. Plays, pageants and other dramatic productions should be presented. Fortunately, satisfactory material is now easily procurable. One of the best informed men in this field is Professor Fred Eastman of the Chicago theological seminary. Information may also be secured from the National Council for the prevention of war.

9. Personal conversation is an indispensable means of changing attitudes toward capitalism and the war system. To the degree that an individual is well informed about social problems, and to the extent that he is alert to opportunities for serious talks he can be instrumental in bringing about changes of conviction. Effective action in this realm is limited only by inadequate knowledge, by imperfect skill in presentation, and by lack of time. Systematic conversation on the part of resolute members of a minority can accomplish marvels.

Use of Voice and Pen

10. All the agencies and devices of education must be enlisted in behalf of radical social change. Ministers, educators and journalists are confronted with boundless opportunities, if they are alert and courageous. Writing letters for correspondence columns of newspapers and periodicals is an effective way of conveying ideas to the public. Letters to radio stations and to moving picture theaters praising and condemning various types of programs are worth while. Joint declarations by outstanding men and women should be made frequently and given wide publicity. Continuous use of voice and pen by members of a radical minority can accomplish substantial results in changing public attitudes and practices.

11. Systematic circulation of appropriate literature is another effective means of education. Fortunately, numerous satisfactory pamphlets are available in inexpensive form. Information and samples may be secured from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York city; the National Council for the prevention of war; the League for industrial democracy, 112 East 19th street, New York city; the Cooperative league of U.S.A., 167 West 12th street, New York city; the Socialist party of America, 549 Randolph street, Chicago; the World Peace foundation, 40 Mount Vernon street, Boston; the Foreign Policy association, 8 West 40th street, New York city; the Committee on militarism in education, 2929 Broadway, New York city; the War Resisters' league, 1285 Fifth avenue, New York city; Eddy and Page, Room 704, 347 Madison avenue, New York city. Fruitful results may be secured by systematic distribution of suitable literature to members of a class or society or church, as well as by house-to-house distribution.

The Lure of Maps

12. The device of an illuminated or illustrated map of the world or of the nation is often used effectively in colleges, high schools, libraries and churches. Colored electric bulbs or colored thumbtacks may be used to direct attention to a country or a region where some significant event has just occurred, and a series of ribbons may be used to carry the eyes of observers to clippings or typewritten summaries posted on the margins of the map. Careful following of liberal and radical publications will yield a constant stream of material that may be dramatized in this way.

13. Help to organize or strengthen consumers' cooperative societies. In many European countries the profit system is rapidly being undermined by the growth of consumers' cooperatives, and rapid progress is now being made in the United States. For information about this movement and for details concerning pro-

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cedures, write to the Cooperative league of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th street, New York city.

14. Give active support to the procedure of collective bargaining on the part of workers through representatives of their own choosing. Point out the inadequacy and menace of company unions that are dominated by employers and are used to block effective national unions of workers. If eligible, join a union and work from within for a new social order.

15. Middle class individuals and groups can help tremendously to combat the stream of propaganda against organized labor which pours from the employer-dominated press. Ministers, educators and other middle-class radicals can aid in establishing fact-finding agencies which in time of strikes or other crises will quickly make available relevant facts about the controversy. House-to-house distribution of leaflets containing a factual summary signed by a committee of well-known citizens would often help enormously the cause of organized labor.

16. In strike situations where the facts are clear that the workers are victims of gross injustice, sympathizers with the workers could help substantially by taking their place on the picket line where pacific efforts are being made to persuade other workers to refrain from acting as strike-breakers. Such a demonstration of solidarity with labor would strengthen the morale of strikers in their struggle for justice and would also affect public opinion.

Political Activity

17. Help to organize citizens for radical but non-warlike political activity. Some individuals who are resolutely committed to the task of undermining capitalism and replacing it with a cooperative commonwealth are convinced that the most effective procedure under present circumstances is to work within the democratic party in the hope of pushing it leftward or with the expectation of splitting the present party and carrying a substantial section of it into a new radical party. Other pacifist radicals have joined the socialist party of America because they are convinced that its policies and procedures are the soundest and most practicable. I am personally glad to be a member of the socialist party. While I do not believe that in its present form it will be the instrument of political victory in this country, I am convinced that it is now doing the most effective educational and organizational work in behalf of socializing the basic industries and that it will eventually play an important role within a new radical party. Pacifists like myself feel at home in the socialist party in view of the recent declaration of its national executive committee: "The acceptance by a group of party members of doctrines which include the theory of armed insurrection as a proper socialist method of achieving socialist aims is viewed by the national executive committee as a dangerous departure from socialist principles and tactics."

18. Help to organize pacifists as pacifists for more effective action in preventing war and for more comprehensive planning for pacifist action if the catastrophe of war is not averted. Solidarity of pacifists is urgently demanded. Every individual who has made up his mind not to sanction or to participate in any future war should identify himself with groups of persons who have made similar decisions. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is probably the outstanding religious pacifist agency with which to become identified.

Social Pressure

19. Bring political pressure to bear upon public officials in behalf of desirable measures. Telegrams and letters to legislators are important means of registering public opinion at seats of government. Resolutions and petitions are instruments which may be used effectively by minority groups. Personal and group visitation is even more effective in impressing points of view upon legislators. The National Council for the prevention of war has outlined a comprehensive plan of organizing voters in behalf of international cooperation and in opposition to armed preparedness and other provocative national policies. The Women's International League for peace and freedom, 1805 H street, N. W., Washington, constantly engages in effective lobbying for peace measures.

20. The boycott is a legitimate method of exerting social coercion in behalf of social justice. Concerted refusal to buy from stores which exploit their employes should be utilized by persons who are seeking a new economic order. Negroes are abundantly justified in withholding patronage from stores which refuse to employ Negro clerks. Radical pacifists will do well to boycott hotels, restaurants and barber shops which refuse to serve Negroes and orientals. Religious agencies should refrain from holding conventions in hotels which discriminate against Negroes. The boycott is doubly effective when utilized without hatred and violence.

Use of Money

21. The contribution of funds to agencies that are exerting effective non-warlike pressure in behalf of a new social order is urgently demanded. Most liberal and radical institutions are terribly handicapped by financial difficulties. Many individuals have decided to decrease their gifts to conventional organizations in order to increase contributions to agencies which are endeavoring to bring about radical non-warlike changes in the present social order.

22. And finally, emphasis must be placed on the necessity of running risks and accepting penalties if capitalism and war are to be replaced by a cooperative commonwealth and friendly relations among nations. Timidity is a deadly foe of effective action. Radical Christian pacifists should be stirred by the realization that rival movements all demand courage, sacrifice and perhaps death on the part of their adherents. Nationalism cannot win wars without sacrificial devotion from patriots. Neither fascism nor communism can succeed unless their respective devotees are courageous to the point of reckless abandon. Surely there is no reason to believe that fearful and cautious religious pacifists can cope with the present critical situation. The only followers of Jesus who can be counted upon are those who take up their cross daily and press on in the footsteps of the Prince of Peace.

Theological Education Tomorrow

By Fred Eastman

IN the preceding article we considered the plight of the young minister just graduated from a typical theological seminary—the desperate condition of the world he faces, his inadequate preparation to meet it, and his confusion of mind and heart. The typical seminary's curriculum, we found, is not sufficiently related to life or to the needs of today. It has forgotten the fermenting nature of the leaven of the gospel and has become crystalized in a few traditional categories. In the present article we shall sketch a seminary which might do a better job. That seminary will have a different basis, a different goal, a different method, and a different result.

Its Basis—The Kingdom of God

Its basis will be Jesus' leavening gospel of the kingdom of God with its emphasis on the sacredness of human beings as immortal souls and children of a common Father. The fundamental importance of that doctrine can hardly be overestimated. It was certainly central in his teaching, the very heart of his message. Once think of yourself and your fellows as children of God, eternally precious in his sight, and two things begin to happen: You have a greater sense of your own dignity, and you have an increasing respect for the rights of others. The transforming power of that conception, as it has gradually taken possession of men's imaginations and spread into one area after another of human life, is comparable to that of no other single thought in history. It worked its way into the Roman empire and split it wide apart. It entered Greek philosophy and revitalized it. It got a start in men's thought about social relationships and soon they questioned such age-old institutions as slavery, the divine right of kings, child labor, and—of late—war. It crept into ideas of education and eventually produced public school systems. It rooted itself in political thought, grew quietly there for a while, and then flowered into those great experiments in democracy, the Swiss and Dutch republics, the commonwealth of England, and the United States of America.

H. G. Wells, writing of this kingdom of God doctrine, says: "No age has even yet understood fully the tremendous challenge it carries to the established institutions and subjugations of mankind. But the world began to be a different world from the day that doctrine was preached." Would not a doctrine that has had such transforming power through twenty centuries be adequate for a theological seminary?

Goal and Method

The goal of the ideal seminary will be *understanding* in the sense of complete integration of our knowledge of the spiritual life so far as we can achieve it. "We learn a lot of things in a modern theological seminary," said a student the other day, and then added wistfully, "but I wish we might gain more understanding." He was yearning, and rightfully, for the kind of integration the ideal seminary will seek to help him find.

It is not new, this goal. The great churchmen of the middle ages had it. Thomas Aquinas tried to state it, all classified and interrelated in his monumental "Summa Theologica." Dante, as Lynn Harold Hough points out, later gave it artistic expression in his "Divine Comedy." The amount of knowledge to be integrated today is vastly greater, and the need correspondingly increased.

This goal for the seminary of the future will be specific in three great areas:

1. Understanding of the spiritual experience of the human race and the laws of the spiritual life that have grown out of it, so far as those laws can be formulated;
2. Understanding of the needs of human beings today, individual and social; and
3. Understanding of the ways and means of applying to the needs of today the spiritual experience of the race and the leaven of the gospel of the kingdom of God.

If all the work of the seminary is directed to developing such understanding, there might be a reasonable hope that the student who comes to it will be graduated as a man of understanding. He will have wisdom in the deepest sense of the word—a wisdom rooted in the experience of the ages, informed in the needs of human beings of the present, and he will be disciplined to minister to those needs.

The method of this seminary will be empirical. It will proceed by research, observation and experiment. It will test all things and hold fast that which is good. But it will not limit itself to the scientific method or to scientific findings. God forbid! It will venture forth into the unknown with the poets and artists and all the explorers of the inner life, not afraid to believe where it cannot yet prove.

The Curriculum

What will all this mean in practical terms of shaping a curriculum for a candidate for the ministry? It will *not* mean simply the reallocation of a few courses. It will mean rather that his study will be divided into three approximately equal parts, all integrated to the goal of teaching him how to meet the spiritual needs of today with all the help he can gain from the spiritual experience of the human race and especially from the leaven of the gospel.

The first third[1] of his preparation he will devote to Bible, theology, church history, comparative religions, biographies,[2] and the ancient philosophies. The essential difference here from the present courses in these studies will be that they will be (a) integrated to the larger goal stated above, and (b) that there will be fewer of them.

[1] Whether the three lines of preparation run concurrently or consecutively is of secondary importance.

[2] The inclusion of biographies in this list calls for a word of explanation. Most institutions have dipped into the lives of the more

Those who are not in theological seminaries can hardly appreciate the trepidation of the writer of these lines. Apparently he blandly proposes that the studies which now constitute about two-thirds of a seminary student's three year course be reduced to one-third of that period. Yes, he proposes that—but not blandly. He sees at least some of the difficulties and objections. But unless some such reduction is made, no room can be found for the newer and enormously important studies which a student needs if he is to minister with any effectiveness to the struggling souls of men in these times.

The Proper Place for Research Courses

One key to that reduction may possibly be found in this suggestion: that we make a clearer distinction between research courses and professional courses in these traditional disciplines. It is the sort of distinction the scientific schools are increasingly making between pure science and applied science courses. A research course in Old Testament, for example, is one that takes a student into a somewhat detailed study of a single book—Jeremiah, say—involving a reading of the book in Hebrew, a textual criticism of it, the findings of archeological research concerning the literature, arts and economics of the period, and the various revisions and translations of the text. A professional course makes no attempt at such a detailed study. It is or should be taught by one who, himself, has done intensive biblical research and who can bring in a single term the assured results of scholarship covering three or four Old Testament books, helping his students to integrate that knowledge into the general pattern of understanding of the spiritual history of the human race. Difficult? Of course. But why not?

The same sort of distinction between research and professional courses might be made in New Testament, church history, comparative religions, philosophy and theology. Every student should have at least one or two research courses in order to acquaint him with the methods of modern scholarship so that he may, if he has the ability, continue them in his own studies after he enters the ministry. Such distinction between research and professional courses will mark more clearly the difference in function between the professional training school for ministers and a school of research in religion. Both are essential in the total picture of theological education, but there is no reason why every seminary should attempt to be both.[3]

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important religious leaders in the course of studies in church history and theology, where the emphasis has been to discover a man's contribution to thought. A true biographical study, however, is something quite different. It will undertake (as it does already in the one or two seminaries which include it in their present curricula) a consideration of the lives not only of religious leaders, but of the leading statesmen, scientists, artists, writers, and philosophers. It will study their heredity, environment, purpose, opposition, handicaps, achievements, utterances, religious beliefs, failures, dominant moods and attitudes. Out of all this it will endeavor to discern the sources of power.

[3] If the reduction of the traditional disciplines cannot be satisfactorily effected by some such method, the only alternative seems to be a four year theological training.

The second third of his preparation the student will devote to a study of the individual and social needs of his fellow men today. Here will come the contribution of the social sciences, especially of sociology and psychology and that increasing body of observation—it can hardly be called a science—generally called international relations. At present most theological seminaries neglect these studies entirely. The situation in medical schools would be analogous if medical students studied only the history and use of medicines and neglected studies of the human body and its diseases.

Through sociology the seminary of the future will attempt to develop the student's understanding of the problems of the community and social life of the people of his future parishes. He will make social surveys, he will observe and—in his field work—participate in experiments in various kinds of community effort toward a more Christian social order. He will study the major social evils which tend to destroy human life and he will ponder upon the part religion has played or may play in man's struggle against these evils. He will study the peculiar needs of city flat-dwellers and of farmers, of itinerant workers in harvest fields and of factory workmen, of families and of homeless men, of professional classes and of masses of unskilled labor, of normal groups and of criminals. No human need will be foreign to him or outside the pale of his ministry. He will also have some study of such great sociological experiments as Italy's with fascism, Germany's with naziism, Russia's with socialism, and America's with constitutional democracy. He is going out into a world where his people's lives from the cradle to the grave will be conditioned by one or more of these systems. It is of high importance, therefore, that he discover what results each yields in security, peace, personality development, and other spiritual values.

Use of Psychology

But the seminary cannot stop there. All these social problems at home and abroad rub against each other, cut across each other, and produce wars. The student must be informed about the causes of war and ways to avoid it. He must be intelligent about peace—not be content to make sentimental prayers leaving it all to the Lord. He must know what sort of peace effort to organize among his own people if he would save them and their children from becoming cannon-fodder. He must think through the whole business of the relation of church and state.

Through psychology and its allied sciences the seminary of the future will attempt to develop the student's understanding of the problems of individual mental health. Under competent professional leadership and by means of case histories the student will study causes of inner defeat and inner victory, and ways of helping people to avoid the one and achieve the other. He will receive clinical training in mental hygiene. He will probably spend at least one of his summers in a hospital for mental diseases under the plan already worked out by Professor Anton T. Boisen, or in an almshouse or prison or general hospital under the plan suggested by Dr. Richard C. Cabot.

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The last third of his theological training he will devote to a study of the ways and means of applying the spiritual experience of the human race and the gospel of Jesus Christ to the needs of human beings today. Here will come practical training in methods of preaching, public speech, pastoral work, religious education, and social service administration. Here, too, will come drama and music, and appreciation courses in architecture, painting, and other arts which express the deepest emotions and the highest aspirations of mankind.

The Application

Why include the arts? In order to develop strength, beauty and power in the imaginative and creative life of the student. And in order to prepare him to minister to the starved imaginations of his people. The increasing mechanization and institutionalism of modern life have left the creative impulses unsatisfied. Men feel that they are more and more coming to be cogs in a great machine that is liable to grind them to powder in any moment of great strain. They need to be saved from this machine life. The very preservation of sanity and of emotional poise demands that their creative impulses and thwarted emotions be trained and directed toward useful ends instead of running wild or burning themselves out in suppressed protest and rebellion. The arts provide that training and release. A young minister who knows something of one or more of them may be able to touch with saving power souls that neither scholarship nor science could reach.

Seven years ago the late Professor Gerald Birney Smith saw the need for the arts in theological education and wrote these prophetic words:

> It would seem that the time has come when theological seminaries ought to face squarely this new problem. Ought there not to be developed a department which shall consider the whole realm of worship and esthetics as seriously and as thoroughly as the problems of biblical criticism and of religious education are being considered? . . . It is only as the esthetic side of Protestantism shall be taken as seriously as its intellectual and pedagogical aspects that we shall be able in the perplexing age before us to commend our faith with all the power and dignity which it deserves.

The result, when it is accomplished? One may at least hope that in place of confused young ministers with fragmented bits of knowledge and faith we may have young men of understanding, integrated in their own personalities, yeasty with the leaven of the gospel, trained in diagnosing human need, and disciplined to meet it. Men of power!

Gallup Goes to War

By A. L. Wirin

FORTY-EIGHT Gallup miners and their wives, thirty-eight men and ten women, are now on trial for their lives before District Judge M. A. Otero, jr., of Santa Fe, New Mexico. They are having their preliminary hearing on charges of first degree murder because of the death by bullet wounds of Sheriff M. A. Carmichael of Gallup on April 4. On that fateful morning two Mexican workers were also shot and killed while four Mexican miners were seriously wounded—all these by bullets from deputy sheriffs. Thus far no one has been charged with or arrested for the commission of any offense against the workers; on the other hand approximately two hundred workers have been arrested, about a hundred being immediately charged with murder in the first degree. Armed legionnaires, mine employes and ranchers summoned by a blast of the fire signal immediately after the shooting, and specially deputized as sheriffs, rounded up and jailed practically all the members of the mining community. The district attorney admits "questioning" 601 persons.

The houses of more than one hundred miners were raided and searched, in most instances without any search warrants at all, in many cases under warrants issued on the pretense that a revolver from one of the officers "was stolen"; the raids netted "communistic literature" which consisted for the most part of membership cards in the workers' union or their unemployed organizations. The Gallup Independent of the afternoon of the shooting printed the following description of the situation:

> Gallup appeared like an armed camp in the hands of the more than 100 deputies who had been sworn in up until noon. Additional deputies were being added and estimates were that there would be two hundred men under arms.
>
> Every able-bodied member of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars as well as all available deputy sheriffs and police officers were sworn in. Bearing shotguns, rifles, the city's single submachine gun and pistols of all descriptions, the special deputies combed Chihuahuita, northwest Gallup and Black Diamond canyon for radical suspects. "We are going to arrest every one identified with the radical movement here," the sheriff said.

In the same issue the Independent said: "Communism, that dread invader of the sanctity of American governmental ideals, today provided one of the striking coincidences of the tragic events in Gallup."

While all of Gallup during those raids remained a terrorized camp, of the workers in jail, some were beaten, others third degreed, many threatened and still others promised immunity if they would turn state's evidence against their comrades, at the same time United States immigration inspectors questioned all, finally charging seven with membership in the communist party and securing from the secretary of labor warrants of arrest for deportation because of such membership. All meetings of the workers were banned. The miners, be it noted, now belong to a local of the United Mine Workers of America. Many of them

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were former members of the National Miners union, a left wing union which has been disbanded.

The Miners Are Evicted

The background of the shooting lies in evictions. Gallup miners had occupied for many years, in some instances from twenty to thirty years, shacks built by them upon the land of the Gallup American coal company. They had been paying ground rent of ten to fifteen dollars a year to the coal company. But some of these miners were active in the strike of 1933; the coal company considered them "undesirable." One day the land was transferred to Senator Clarence Vogel, a local politician reputed to be closely allied to the coal company. The senator brought eviction proceedings. Orders of eviction were entered against the workers who were unable to procure counsel. They were forcibly evicted from their own houses without any payment or restitution for the cabins built by them. After eviction some of the miners moved back. Senator Vogel or the coal company swore out criminal complaints against them, and three were arrested. On April 4 they were to have their hearing in the courtroom of M. H. Bickel, justice of the peace at Gallup. The workers arrived at the courtroom to attend the trial—a public trial, as they had anticipated. Instead the door was shut and none of them was admitted to the court. Suddenly they saw their comrades being taken to the rear door, apparently without any hearing. Alarmed and suspicious, they ran into the alley where the rear door was located.

The workers say that Sheriff Carmichael threw a tear gas bomb; that the sheriff and his deputies began to fire into the crowd; that the sheriff dropped his gun during the melee and that this was picked up by one of the workers who shot the sheriff; that this worker was immediately shot and killed by a deputy sheriff. Other workers say the sheriff was shot by his own deputies. The prosecution says that the workers were armed, that they arrived at Judge Bickel's office for the purpose of rescuing the prisoners; that the killing was deliberate murder and that all persons present at the shooting are equally liable under an old New Mexico territorial law which makes all present at the scene of the killing of an officer, whether participating or not, guilty of murder.

Railroaded Into the Death Cell

When the prosecuting authorities had gathered all the "evidence" they thought they needed against the defendants, a program designed to railroad them to the penitentiary and to the electric chair was at once initiated and carried forward with dispatch. On Saturday morning, within forty-eight hours of the shooting, the defendants were formally charged with murder; within an hour they were arraigned before the justice of the peace; they were induced to waive their preliminary hearing by the district attorney; informations were filed against them before District Judge Armijo, who was conveniently present to take over the proceedings from the justice of the peace; they were held without bond and shipped off to the state penitentiary at Santa Fe to be quartered in the death cell there—all this without the presence of a lawyer and after being denied a postponement to procure a lawyer, and the right to have counsel.

The Gallup Independent, which fights communism and stands for Americanism, described the proceedings thus:

> Unparalleled in New Mexico court annals was the courtroom scene and procedure last night as Gallup men and women were held on charges of murdering Sheriff M. R. Carmichael in Thursday's riot. District Judge Luis Armijo, who presided, said never in his long career at the bar had he ever seen or heard of such a proceeding. Even the charges themselves were unusual. A seldom used territorial law was invoked against all who could be identified in the mob that killed the officer. The courtroom scene had never been equaled in color of the backdrop of 36 turbulent hours when the town was under a semi-military rule of 250 special deputies. A .30-30 caliber Winchester rifle lay on the judge's desk as first Justice William M. Bickel and District Judge Armijo presided for the preliminary hearing and the arraignment. Arms bristled through the courtroom, heavily guarded both at the door and inside the courtroom railing. Rifled deputies stood about the judges and prosecutor's table and occupied the jury box. As a matter of fact, there is no record of the territorial statute referred to ever having been used before, even in territorial days, and certainly not in modern times.

The Scene Changes

With the changing of the scene from Gallup to Santa Fe, the legal status of the prisoners changed also. Although the district attorney and the warden of the state penitentiary insisted upon holding the prisoners incommunicado and refused to allow me or any other counsel to interview them, District Judge Otero of Sante Fe, when the matter was called to his attention, immediately ordered the warden to allow me to see the prisoners. When habeas corpus proceedings were brought in behalf of the defendants, he declared all the porceedings in Gallup void and a denial of the defandants' constitutional rights to counsel. He ordered new preliminary hearings to be conducted before him and he designated Wheaton Augur, a New Mexico attorney, and me, as counsel for all the defendants with authority to add as counsel such other attorneys as we might desire.

Having been threatened by an armed deputy sheriff when I was in Gallup shortly after the shooting, I requested of Judge Otero protection by state highway patrol officers when it was necessary for me to return to Gallup to investigate the case. Upon request of the judge, the governor designated state highway patrol officers, who acted as my guards on my return visit to Gallup.

Clarence Lynch, International labor defense attorney from Arizona, has now been appointed as one of the counsel for the defense, while David Levinson, International labor defense attorney from Philadelphia, arrived here by plane Thursday morning. He will be in charge for the Gallup defense committee, organized by the I.L.D. which, because of the number of communists involved and the nature of the charge, will direct the case.

The civil liberties issues are these: 1. The right of workers to maintain and continue union activities, what-

ever their political views may be. 2. The charge of murder against half a hundred workers, mere spectators, under an old territorial statute which is of doubtful constitutionality. 3. Wholesale raids in workers' homes, without search warrants and seizure of literature and union membership cards. 4. General arrests by armed deputies without evidence. 5. Deportation proceedings for membership in the communist party. 6. Violation of right to hold meetings. 7. Refusal of counsel and of a preliminary hearing, both of which rights were promptly recognized by Judge Otero.

The indiscriminate and wholesale arrests of "radicals" and workers, and charges against them of first degree murder because a peace officer was killed is reminiscent of Gastonia; the refusal, in the first instance, of counsel to the defendants and their hasty railroading to the death cell suggests the Scottsboro case. With the Gallup American coal company hovering in the background of these cases, as did the Market Street railway and the employe interests of San Francisco in 1916 on the occasion of the Preparedness day disaster, it is not unlike the Mooney case; for the whole prosecution program here is directed toward the execution of militant workers in order to smash an aggressive union. In any event, the Gallup cases are a challenge to the entire labor movement in the United States.

Religion and the New Poetry

By Amos N. Wilder

THERE are a good many reasons for reading contemporary poetry aside from the obvious one of getting esthetic pleasure from it. Even if one gets no esthetic pleasure from it, in the usual sense, it it worth reading. Even if one finds oneself poles apart from the attitudes and ethical standpoints of much of it, it is worth reading. For in it we have a disclosure of many profound and typical moods and trends of men today. The poets are apt to be the first to register the profound tides that move society and culture. They are the sensitive ones who first register and react to changes in the climate. They fish in deep waters and bring to light evidence from the inner world and the underworld, by a kind of divination, evidence which we may well take into account. There are two mysteries of the word: there is the power of the word to create new worlds and destroy old, and the new poets are at it today, whether we like it or not. And there is the mystery by which words get hold of yet obscure meanings and directions and values, and crystalize them. The new poets are doing that today. It is well expressed in the following lines of Geoffrey Scott:

> Fishers of joy and pain
> Grey words are we,
> Who sift
> Man's dream and drift;
> Whose net
> Under the moon is set
> To drag the tidal secret of the world
> Up from the shadowy sea. . . .[1]

The poets and artists of today are presenting us with the tidal secrets of the world, and these often illuminate the religious need and quest of our times. These strange voices, these protests, these maledictions, these despairs, proceed out of the Inferno of our age. When well heeded they bear witness to our contemporary maladies, doubts, remorses, prayers and illuminations. It will be evident that we are talking about the definitely *new* poets, the modernist poets, and not those who pursue today the old themes with the old optimism and the old forms.

We can only understand and enjoy these new poets in proportion as we have shared their experiences. If we have felt the world and the age as they have we will not ask why they do thus and so—why they are preoccupied with suffering or disharmony or vice, why they are unorthodox in belief or ethical view, why they change the currency of poetic speech or the molds of poetic form. If we live at all sensitively or sympathetically in the life of today we cannot help welcoming the notes they strike—at one point or another. We should naturally feel a gratification in their expression of the new sensibility that is ours as post-war accidentals. If we have not been artificially sheltered in these last decades we will share the tensions that afflict them, and we will find a corresponding release in their creative resolutions of these tensions.

Sharers of the Age

This holds even for those of us who—unlike most of these poets—hold a positive religious faith of a Christian content and mood. Our Christian faith does not dissolve our solidarity with our age. The stresses and tensions of our age will take a different coloring for us as men of faith. We will deplore the despair or the error evident in many of these our fellows. We will often feel with tragic solicitude that we walk among them like Dante and Vergil in the lower rings of hell.[2] But we should none the less often feel that their sense of the world is one we can understand. In fact, we should take it as a matter of grave concern if we find the new poets only sound and fury. If O'Neill or D. H. Lawrence or Robinson Jeffers or Conrad Aiken or T. S. Eliot seem to speak in a totally different language from the one we know, we should ask ourselves if we have lived in our own time, genuinely.

[1] Poems. Oxford University Press, 1931 (from "The Map of Spells") p. 17.

[2] "The unconcealed and palpable influence of the devil on an important part of contemporary literature is one of the significant phenomena of the history of our time." (Maritain, quoted by T. S. Eliot, "Use of Poetry," p. 129.)

It is not enough to answer that the greatest poets are of all time. The world is going through so crucial a change in our time that one should examine oneself closely if one finds unintelligible the poets and arts that are expressing that change. I am not of course speaking of that contemporary work which is mainly pose or that proceeds to be different merely for reasons of experiment or out of a sheer surplus of high spirits.

Sheltered People

The main reason for the failure to understand the new poets, especially among religious people, is that they have been closeted or blanketed from the forces of the world. It may be merely economic security that disqualifies them or an insulated intellectual or social life. Such groups of people may have a deep sympathy and appreciation within their own world and will find much meaning in the traditional poetry and art of today, but they can hardly be considered citizens of their time, and should not be surprised to find the art of their day a strange language. It was disturbing to hear a paper read recently by last year's recipient of our greatest honor in poetry—a paper that dealt satirically with the work of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot.[3] Aside from the legitimate fun which the author had with these men, he showed an inability to appreciate the profound protest and tragedy behind the work of at least one if not both of them.

The answer of the new poet to his critics is well brought out by a short poem of the same Geoffrey Scott I have mentioned above. He has in mind a well-known poem of W. H. Davies—a poem in the approved Victorian tenor—which begins as follows:

> What is this life if, full of care,
> We have no time to sit and stare.
> No time to stand beneath the boughs
> And stare as long as sheep and cows. . . .

Scott answers that the modern soul is too much haunted with profound bewilderments to be able to indulge such pastoral moods.

> I would my sight were formed to stare
> In ecstacy at cows and trees,
> To drink them in, and taste with care
> Their sweet particularities;
> And I would count them; but I go
> Lost in a landscape of the mind,
> A country where the lights are low
> And where the ways are hard to find.[4]

Such is the answer of the new man of our age for whom life's issues have become infinitely more drastic, and life's dimensions infinitely more extended.

Geoffrey Scott expresses the same theme in the poem: "To His Own Mind":[5]

> . . . I too could wave a wiry net
> And dance upon a thoughtful chain
> But that, in pauses, I have heard
> Dim sounds that mock the polished mind,
> Have seen the lovely and absurd
> Things of the country of the blind;
> A country where a flaming word
> Found by an idiot in his sleep
> Is yet the peering poised white bird
> That scans the pavement of the deep.

Here we get the impatience with the fanciful tradition in poetry, or even with its more serious elements felt as insufficiently real; and we get the turn toward the metaphysical and irrational. One reason why G. M. Hopkins, though a contemporary of the late Victorians, is claimed by the moderns, is that he had a sense of the fearful aspects of the mind, if not of society, which the modern feels:

> O the mind, mind has mountains; cliffs of fall
> Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed. Hold them cheap
> May who ne'er hung there. Nor does long our small
> Durance deal with that steep or deep. . . .

Such illustrations show that the art of today in its own way often makes the same protest that Barth has made in favor of a dynamic universe. We must not conclude that nature is tamed, that life is propheciable, that the intellect can compass it. The human values we cherish are not enough. Man craves more. Only the other, the different, super-nature, super-man, can meet our need. Jeffers wants a deliverance from our human state. D. H. Lawrence would have us all come through from the puzzled and negative "mind" to a profound rebirth. There are religious implications of wide variety and significance in all this work. It is significant that Professor Eugene W. Lyman in his recent work, "Religion, Its Meaning and Truth," has gone out of his way to consider some of these writers.

Pioneers of New Ways

These contemporary poets and artists seem often to be men and women whom many would call not normal, morally erratic or hysterical. This should not excuse us from considering them. Men may be blasted by experience—sensitive and gifted men—and yet have much to communicate. Men may be blasted for either of two reasons: because they have missed the guiding beacons of the laws of God—though sometimes these are not so clear. Or, secondly, because they have become the scapegoats and pioneers of new ways of seeing, feeling, thinking. This latter factor is present in the case of many of these poets. Their sensitiveness had led them often to be the first to feel the compulsion of new liberties, and the resultant isolation has led in such natures to hurts, warpings and distortions.

Many of the poets we list as on the border line of insanity have been there because they were the scapegoats of mankind's advance into new capacities, new sensitiveness, new awareness, in short, new consciousness; the Villons, Baudelaires, Poes, Dostoievskis. No doubt their mental anguish and alienation is often due partly to their servitude to impulse also. And the complacency and inflexibility of the orthodoxies they rebelled against had much to do with their vagaries. But more significant is the great word of Goethe: To seek is to err. A man can't pioneer into the jungle that lies before the race without erring. Driven to new explorations of the soul and the heart, these seers find in part and err in part. They are crucified within and they are likely to be crucified without.

[3] Hillyer, R. "Some Sources of Poetry." Wheaton College Press, 1934.

[4] To W. H. Davies, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The Arms Inquiry

A Summary of the Hearings before the Special Committee of the Senate between September 4, 1934 and March 1, 1935

By Paul Hutchinson

I.

The Origin of the Inquiry

On April 12, 1934, while most of Washington was trying to squeeze into the committee room in which Dr. Wirt was to "tell all" regarding the conversation about a new deal dinner table, the United States senate voted, almost without attracting any public attention whatever, for an investigation which was to start international reverberations, which is still under way, and which may ultimately have a profound effect on American national policy. Senate resolution 206, adopted without a record vote, authorized an "investigation of the activities of individuals, firms, associations and of corporations and all other agencies in the United States engaged in the manufacture, sale, distribution, import or export of arms, munitions or other implements of war." It called specifically for an inquiry into the nature of the corporations engaged in the munitions industry, their methods of doing business, their volume of business, the extent to which their business was already subject to adequate legal control, and the desirability of transforming their business from a private profit-seeking enterprise into a government monopoly.

Senator Gerald P. Nye, independent republican from North Dakota, had introduced S. 206. In accordance with senate custom, Vice-president Garner thereupon named Mr. Nye chairman of the "Special Committee to Investigate the Munitions Industry." The other six places provided for by the resolution were filled by Walter F. George of Georgia, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, Homer T. Bone of Washington, James P. Pope of Idaho, Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan and W. Warren Barbour of New Jersey. Senatorial investigating committees have sometimes become, after the novelty has worn off, little more than the chairman and perhaps a specially interested member or two. This has not proved the case with the munitions committee. All its members have given it some attention, and if one or two have been a trifle desultory in their attendance at hearings, the others have labored at the task in a prodigious fashion.

In authorizing the arms inquiry the senate provided $50,000 for its operating expenses. A second appropriation of the same size had to be made at the opening of the 74th congress last January; this appropriation is not yet exhausted. With this sum in hand the committee began its operations by hiring Mr. Stephen Raushenbush as its secretary and chief investigator. Mr. Raushenbush, son of the famous Professor Walter Rauschenbusch of Rochester, had gained national attention with various books and technical studies dealing with the power industry in the United States. Using the authority granted the committee to gain access to "such books, papers, and documents" as it desired to see, Mr. Raushenbush rapidly enlisted a staff of investigators which was soon at work in the files and ledgers of a dozen key armament corporations. The amazing thoroughness with which these investigators have done their work, and their ability to uncover documentary evidence of facts which witnesses professed to have forgotten, have again and again upset the aplomb of the munitions manufacturers when under oath.

Public hearings began on September 4, 1934. They may continue for several months to come. The present summary confines itself to the record as compiled up to the close of February.

Of course, the Nye resolution which launched the senate investigation into the munitions industry did not fall like a bolt from the blue. The public mistrust of the munitions makers had been rising for years. Almost ten years before the outbreak of the world war George Bernard Shaw warned Europe, in "Major Barbara," of the way in which the cupidity of the private dealer in armaments may lead to conflict. The warning was dismissed at the time as a Shavian joke, but like many a Shavian joke events were later to give it a grim point. After the war, public opinion in England—and to some extent throughout Europe—began to demand more light on the operations of the industry. The covenant of the League of Nations warned against the dangers of private arms manufacture. The league appointed a commission of inquiry which reported a widespread belief that the private munitions manufacturers were actively fomenting war scares and had organized international rings which played one country off against another and ran up prices for all.[1] The Union of Democratic Control—a British anti-imperialist organization with pronounced pacifist leanings—put out two magnificently documented and barbed pamphlets, "The Secret International" and "Patriotism, Ltd.," which remain among the most effective revelations of the ramifications and acts of the international armament ring.[2] Finally, public resentment was aroused at revelation of the wealth and honors heaped on the mysterious Greek, Basileios Zacharias, who because of his uncanny ability to induce governments to engage in competitive bidding for Vickers' armaments products, became Sir Basil Zaharoff and a Knight of the Bath.[3]

These revelations of the cold-blooded way in which Vickers-Armstrong, Schneider-Creusot, Skoda and the

1. The First Sub-Committee of the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League of Nations. Report A. 81, 1921.

2. These pamphlets may be obtained from the War Resisters League, 171 West 12th Street, New York city, for 20 cents each.

3. Cf. Sir Basil Zaharoff, by Richard Lewinsohn. London: Gollancz, 12/6.

other arms makers of Europe went about building up their business were sensational enough, in all conscience, but they were too far away to have much effect on the American public. Then, in a single month last spring, the entire situation was changed. The March issue of Fortune, that dollar-a-month periodical devoted to the whys and wherefores of big business, gave almost all its contents to an exposure, under the title "Arms and the Men," of the world armament ring. There was little in the Fortune article which had not been printed in Europe; most of its especially sensational facts had appeared, at least in abbreviated form, on this side of the Atlantic.[4] But when the same facts appeared in this journalistic citadel of plutocracy, strikingly illustrated and abundantly documented, the press and the nation sat up and took notice.

Senator Borah took the Fortune article to the floor of the senate and read it into the record, with appropriate comments. Peace organizations began to see that members of both houses of congress became aware of the storm of popular indignation which was arising across the nation. The Women's International league for peace and freedom, working largely through its national secretary, Miss Dorothy Detzer, was especially effective in bringing Washington legislators to understand the importance which the issue had assumed in the public eye. Two publishers were fortunate enough to have books ready to supply a now insistent public demand. One of these, written by H. C. Engelbrecht, an editor of World Tomorrow, and F. C. Hanighen, was a carefully wrought factual document and was adopted by the Book-of-the-Month club. The other, by George Seldes, was an indignant shout for action by one of the most forceful writers in the ranks of American journalism.[5]

With this as a background, it is not difficult to understand why, when Senator Nye moved his resolution calling for an investigation of the munitions industry in the United States, there was not a vote cast against it. It might be, as European and American writers had hinted, that American armament firms had not indulged in practices as reprehensible as those of the major European "merchants of death." But the senate knew that an aroused nation was demanding an inquiry that should shed light into every corner of a business which, with civilization at stake, could not be permitted to operate longer in the dark.

II.

The Nature and Conduct of the Inquiry

SENSATIONAL as have been many of the reports which the press has carried of the revelations brought out by the senate munitions committee, the work of the committee has had little of the spectacular about it. It has been, on the contrary, a triumph for hard work and an infinite capacity for taking pains. The value of the testimony taken by the committee will appear more clearly if the reader keeps in mind the methods by which this testimony has been brought out.

The backbone of the inquiry is, of course, the staff of expert investigators which operates under the direction of Mr. Raushenbush. Some of these are professional investigators who have been at work on government inquiries for years, men whose experiences in dealing with tax evasion cases, scandals of the Teapot Dome variety, or charges of corruption in contested elections have taught them what constitutes evidence and the most likely spots in which to find it. Some of them are lawyers, able to take the material uncovered by agents of the former type and make it the basis for a searching cross-examination. Some are economists; some are journalists. All of them have proved willing to work day and night.

These investigators are turned loose in the records of the companies which the committee means to investigate. Their coming is, to be sure, a warning of trouble, but there have not been many hints in the inquiry so far that the corporations under scrutiny have tried to rid their files of incriminating material. If they have, it has certainly been without much success.[1] After this material has been sifted by the field investigators, the documentary evidence which seems important is brought back to Washington and turned over to Mr. Raushenbush and his chief assistants. When these have reduced it to order, it is ready for use by the senators comprising the committee.

Public hearings are held in a committee room on the third floor of the senate office building. Here, in a calm which usually contrasts with the conflict of interests involved, the committee members sit behind a raised desk much like a court bench, looking down at witnesses in the well below them, listening to testimony which is generally given in a conversational tone, and occasionally interjecting a question. In general, the conduct of the various parts of the hearings is divided between members of the committee and the secretaries. Sometimes the chairman will indicate that Mr. Raushenbush is to do most of the questioning; sometimes it will be one of the assistant investigators. More often the chairman will take up the questioning himself, or he will call on one of his colleagues. The most searching questioners have proved to be Senators Nye, Vandenberg, Clark and Bone. The first two are journalists; the others are lawyers.

During the period covered by the present study the inquiry has examined the affairs of twelve corporations, as well as of sundry gentlemen who seem to have made their principal income out of lobbying at Washington in behalf of a big navy or a subsidized merchant marine. The corporations which have been under scrutiny have been:

> The Electric Boat company, manufacturers of submarines.
>
> The Driggs Ordnance and Engineering company, manufacturers of military and naval ordnance.
>
> The American Armament corporation, a recent organization brought into being by the booming market for munitions, doing

4. Cp. The Armament Makers' Conspiracy, by A. Fenner Brockway, in The Christian Century, November 29, 1933.

5. Merchants of Death, by H. C. Engelbrecht and F. C. Hanighen. New York: Dodd, Mead, $2.50. Iron, Blood and Profits, by George Seldes. New York: Harper, $2.50.

1. There is, however, evidence of an attempt to keep damaging material out of company files entirely. Cf. instructions of C. W. Webster, president of Curtiss-Wright Export company, to salesman in Chile to "send any necessary letters to my home and thereby keep them out of the files." (Exhibit 364, page 788.) And cf. also Ex. 322; p. 906, last sentence: "It would be a mighty good idea if you went through the files and took out all letters mentioning names and commissions."

both a manufacturing and jobbing business in all kinds of war material.

The Curtiss-Wright Export corporation, a subsidiary of the Curtiss-Wright corporation, makers of airplanes. The export corporation handles the sale of Curtiss-Wright planes to foreign governments.

E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, manufacturers of explosives, but also deeply interested in the dye industry, which it insists must be treated as a major factor in national defense.

The Pratt & Whitney Aircraft company, a subsidiary of the United Aircraft and Transport company, and a manufacturer of airplane engines.

The United Aircraft Export company, also a subsidiary of the United Aircraft and Transport company, handling foreign sales.

Federal Laboratories, Inc., manufacturers of gases and bombs.

Lake Erie Chemical company and U. S. Ordnance Engineers, two names for the same organization, manufacturers of gases and bombs.

The New York Shipbuilding company, formerly the American Brown Boveri Electric company, shipbuilders.

The Newport News Drydock and Shipbuilding company, shipbuilders.

The Bethlehem Shipbuilding corporation, a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel company, shipbuilders.

In addition, the course of the inquiry has involved considerable investigation into the business practices of at least another dozen corporations engaged in some phase of the armaments industry.

Two main charges have been leveled against the committee for its conduct of the investigation. The first, which has been emphasized in England, is that much of the questioning has been irrelevant. Government officials have assured parliament that the commission of inquiry which is soon to hold hearings in London with regard to the conduct of the British arms industry will not indulge in any "fishing" expedition. The inference is that the United States senate committee has been "fishing"—merely casting a wide net into the sea and bringing up to public view anything which chanced to land in the net. I have just finished a complete examination of the record of the inquiry up to March 1—something in the neighborhood of 1,800,000 words, as nearly as I can estimate them—and I believe this idea, so widely accepted in England, to be totally erroneous. That minor irrelevancies creep into so voluminous a record is unavoidable. But the inquiry as a whole has been upon the subjects specified in the original resolution of instruction adopted by the senate, and there is next to nothing in the record which does not contribute to the discovery of the facts on which the senate asked for information.

The other criticism has centered upon the publication of unsupported charges found in the files of the various firms investigated. Officers of these firms and their salesmen have seen letters brought to the light which they never expected to have made public, and in which statements of a derogatory character have been made about their competitors, about government officials, and even in a few cases about members of their own organizations. Since these statements, unless supported from other sources, would not constitute final evidence in a court of law, it has been argued that they should not have been introduced. This, however, is to confuse the character of the proceedings. The senate committee is conducting an inquiry, not a trial. It is a pertinent, and highly important, part of that inquiry to determine the "atmosphere" in which the munitions industry lives and moves and has its being. With that end in view, it is much to the point to disclose the sort of "information" constantly passing back and forth between the industry's executives and its salesmen. Nor is the importance of such material lessened when it develops, as it has in several instances during the inquiry, that this "confidential information" was the sort of thing a salesman was supposed to whisper in a government official's ear to clinch an order from some South American republic, or a Washington lobbyist was supposed to see reached a departmental chief in order to insure that an impending contract did not land in the hands of the wrong people.

It is instructive, in studying this record, to discover that the munitions makers themselves have not made the criticisms just mentioned. They have, to be sure, pooh-poohed certain letters introduced into the record as merely salesmen's "rainbows" or as the boasting of lobbyists who are generally accredited with a desire to gain credit for an influence with Washington officials which, in most cases, they do not have. But the munitions men have not argued the relevance of their examination; they have known only too well how hot the trail was which the committee has been following. They have not denied the accuracy of the committee's figures or the authenticity of its documents. They have all been aware of the danger of their position—as long ago as 1927 Mr. Charles L. Bardo, then president of the New York Shipbuilding company, wrote another officer of the company of another threatened inquiry that although "we could not say other than that we welcome an investigation" the company was doing everything it could under cover to head it off, since "there is altogether too much dynamite in a congressional investigation, and we are altogether too vulnerable"[2]—but the main effort of the munitions men, unless I have misread their testimony, has been to admit as little as possible, get the whole thing over as soon as possible, and trust that the public would forget as quickly as possible.

The defense of the munitions makers has, in fact, been of an entirely different sort. It has hardly bothered to challenge the accuracy or the relevancy of the committee's charges. Rather, it has consisted in falling back on three counter-claims. These may be summarized in some such fashion as this:

1. That the munitions business is a necessary part of the national defense, which the government is not in a position, either financially or technically, to carry on, but which must be kept going at high efficiency to meet any national emergency which may arise.

2. That the munitions business is a business, owing its first responsibility to its stockholders, as is the case with any corporation.

3. That the nature of modern warfare makes it im-

2. Charles L. Bardo to N. R. Parker, 33 GP. (In this connection it is necessary to explain that references of this character—33 GP—are to portions of the record not yet printed in book form, but consulted for the purposes of this study in the galley proofs in possession of the senate committee. In view of the tentative nature of such references I have, throughout this study, tried to hold their use to a minimum.)

possible to draw any clear line of demarcation between what are munitions and what are not; that any logical carrying out of the proposal to nationalize the production of all actual munitions would involve the nationalization of all production.

The reader may be left to determine for himself the importance of such counter-claims as these. In the meantime, I desire to help him in reaching a judgment by setting down some of the main, and undenied, facts brought out by the inquiry. The inquiry, as has been said, has taken up the affairs of twelve different corporations in turn, but it seems most useful in summarizing the evidence to bring together under a number of main topics the practices of the various companies relating to those topics. To such a study we may now turn.

III.

Fomenting Trouble Abroad

ONE of the charges most frequently made against the private arms industry is that its pursuit of profit involves it in sales campaigns which start and continue armament races between nations, and that out of such armament races come international crises which often lead to bloodshed. Has this been true in the case of American armament firms? The testimony before the senate committee clearly indicates that it has. Perhaps nothing so sensational has been brought out as has been alleged with regard to the practices of certain European firms, but it is plain that the drive for export sales has involved many American firms in business dealings which have been inimical to the peace of other nations. Governments have been encouraged to arm against other governments, with American firms making a profit from the sales to both sides. When governments had come to the verge of war, or were actually involved in war, assistance in securing finances for added armament purchases has been arranged. Sales have been made to revolutionists or those plotting revolution—an interesting aspect of an industry which insists on the importance of its contribution to the maintaining of domestic law and order. Sales have been made which have involved the evasion, if not the deliberate fracture, of treaty prohibitions.

Arms manufacturers at times decry this feature of their business, which depends for its success on the production of crises abroad. Thus Mr. Frank Sheridan Jonas, "star salesman" for Remington Arms and Federal Laboratories, the gas-bomb makers, in South America, wrote a fellow salesman, Mr. Owen Shannon, of the Curtiss-Wright Export company, when the war in the Chaco between Paraguay and Bolivia seemed about to end in December, 1933:

> We certainly are in one hell of a business, where a fellow has to wish for trouble so as to make a living, the only consolation being, however, that if we don't get the business someone else will. It would be a terrible state of affairs if my conscience started to bother me now.[1]

But the munitions makers defend this stimulation of competitive armament purchases abroad, without regard to its effects, on the ground that only by thus maintaining a booming export business can they hold their plants at a level of efficiency and productive capacity capable of immediately serving the needs of the United States in case this nation became involved in war. It is a vicious circle; the way in which it operates is perhaps best shown by the history of the operations of American arms firms in South America.

The story may be said to open on June 3, 1920. On that day Mr. Frederick E. Chapin, the Washington "contact man" of the Electric Boat company, wrote Mr. L. Y. Spear, vice-president, of a conversation with Admiral Niblack, chief of intelligence of the United States navy. In that conversation Admiral Niblack had pointed out how the sale of six submarines by England to Chile had "destroyed" the South American "balance of power," leaving Peru "absolutely helpless." The admiral had not only pointed this out to Mr. Chapin; he had previously made both the fact and its implications clear to the Peruvian ambassador at Washington: "He said that in his talk with Pezet he told the ambassador that it had occurred to him that it was now a matter of Peru going into the market and buying outright not only with respect to destroyers, but also as to submarines."[2]

Since the Electric Boat company was in need of contracts to take up the slack caused by the disappearance of the American navy's world war orders, this was the signal for the opening of an intensive selling drive in Peru. Lieutenant-Commander Luis Aubry, of the Peruvian navy, visited the United States at this juncture to arrange for the sending of a naval mission to Peru and to inquire concerning the purchase of various types of naval equipment. While here, he was paid $4,000 by the Electric Boat company to have printed and distributed 2,000 copies of a lecture he had delivered in Lima praising its submarines. Still later, after returning to South America, he became the principal agent of the company, receiving salary, commissions and expenses of $326,201.89 between 1920 and August, 1934.[3]

Commander Aubry was not chosen as Electric Boat company's chief salesman in Peru on the strength of his lecturing ability, but, as Mr. Spear was later to explain to Sir Trevor Dawson, chairman of Vickers, for other reasons:

> Commander Aubry, who is a Peruvian naval officer, was intimately connected with the restoration of President Leguia to power in Peru and prior to his retirement from active service was entrusted by President Leguia with many important missions, among which was the arrangement under which the American naval mission was sent to Peru. Under these circumstances, he is naturally on the best of terms not only with the administration but with the American naval mission.[4]

A significant sidelight is thrown on this submarine selling campaign by the testimony which deals with the part played by American naval officers in backing up the efforts of the private manufacturers. The whole subject of the relation of United States government departments and officers to the expansion of the munitions business will be treated at length later. (Cf. Section V.) To understand the success of the Electric Boat company in selling submarines to Peru, however, it is necessary to note at this time that it began with the warning from the intelligence chief of the navy, Admiral Niblack, to the Peruvian ambassador that Chile was being armed with British submarines—a rumor Mr. Spear testified he believed to have been groundless.[5] This brought Peru on the run to Washington for a naval mission, which was authorized by congress, under conditions which Senator Clark thus characterized:

> Senator Clark. It is a fact that the secretary of the navy stated at the time congress passed the act to authorize the naval mission to various South American countries that one of the purposes of it was to sell armaments and to induce them to install American equipment?
>
> Mr. Spear. . . . That was a known fact.
>
> Mr. Henry R. Carse [president of Electric Boat company]. The government paid the expenses of the missions, the salaries of the men.
>
> Senator Clark. As a matter of fact, they drew salaries from the American government at the same time, and in the case of Peru they were paid $8,000 a year apiece while they were down there?
>
> Mr. Carse. Something of that nature. I do not know.

1. Ex. 338; p. 918.
2. Ex. 56; p. 348.
3. Ex. 41; p. 340.
4. Ex. 89; p. 377.
5. P. 97.

Senator Clark. So that it was really a very nice thing for the American naval officers who were sent down there?

Mr. Carse. Surely.[6]

But the path of the submarine salesman was not all smooth. As a matter of fact, there was considerable dispute as to whether Peru, in order to meet the alleged threat from Chile, needed submarines or destroyers.[7] But the submarine builders were fortunate in having appointed as the head of the American naval mission Admiral Clark B. Woodward, who proved himself a strong advocate of submarines. Later, in 1927, when Admiral Woodward had been succeeded by Admiral Hull, a destroyer partisan, Commander Aubry, in a letter to Mr. Spear, described the manner in which he had gone direct to President Leguia to obtain authorization for submarine contracts which it was suspected the new American naval expert would not have approved.[8] In other words, the American corporation had been glad enough to use the services of an official American naval mission to start its selling campaign in Peru, but when that same mission, because of a change in personnel, seemed likely to cramp that campaign, the corporation did not hesitate to go behind the back of the mission's head to arrange a deal which the mission probably would not have approved.

The Electric Boat company succeeded in selling four submarines to Peru, together with two river boats, materials for a submarine base, 48 torpedoes, some guns and ammunition, and various miscellaneous material, to a total value of $6,298,827.[9] The sales originally expected, and tentatively promised by the Leguia government, would have been much larger, but the company found it very difficult to induce American bankers to float the loans which seemed to be a prerequisite for every Peruvian contract,[10] and the tension with Chile was finally relaxed, apparently much to the annoyance of the officers of the Electric Boat company, since Mr. Spear allowed himself to complain to Commander C. W. Craven, of the affiliated British firm of Vickers-Armstrong, in a letter dated August 6, 1928:

> It is too bad that the pernicious activities of our state department have put the brake on armament orders from Peru by forcing the resumption of formal diplomatic relations with Chile. My friends advise me that this gesture means that all contemplated orders must go over until next year. This hitch also means that we must not delay too long in getting Aubry back on the job in Lima.[11]

Space will not permit a detailed recounting of the way in which, from this start in Peru, the American submarine builders—together with American manufacturers of other forms of naval equipment—went about the systematic cultivation of the naval armaments race which was soon under way over much of South America. Care had to be exercised in keeping the governments from knowing how they were being played off against one another, as when Commander Aubry, now with a roving commission for South America, wrote Mr. Spear on March 31, 1924:

> . . . If I bring with me the contracts for Peru, as I expect I will, it would be a great blunder going to Argentine, for instance, via Chile (in this business we will have to be tactful and a little diplomatist); and so in regard to Brazil as well as to the Argentine now that the affairs are going to take place at the same time. I will have to be very careful concerning my activities with any one of these countries respecting the others.[12]

When, in 1927, the Tacna-Arica dispute seemed to have brought Chile and Peru to the verge of conflict, Chile asked whether the Electric Boat company could sell it two 900-ton submarines for immediate delivery. Since the company was already building two boats for Peru it found the inquiry a bit embarrassing, but it was able to deal with the situation by passing the business along to its British affiliate, knowing that it would get its commission just the same, if the order went through.[13] How Mr. Spear felt about it when the state department settled the crisis, thus killing the deal, has already been seen.

One astonishing fact about this particular selling campaign is that, at the very time when the Electric Boat company was pulling so many wires and exerting so much effort to induce Peru to build up its naval strength against Chile, the president of the company was quite aware that by so doing Peru would not increase her security, but might actually hasten hostilities in which she would almost certainly be defeated. In a letter to Mr. Chapin, Mr. Carse wrote:

> The difficulty here, as pointed out by Mr. Monroe [representative of New York banks] to Mr. Sutphen [vice-president of Electric Boat], is the lending of a large sum of money to a comparatively weak country to prepare for conflict with a much stronger country, and the armament which this money could purchase would not insure victory, as the other nation has much stronger armament, and would tend more to bring conflict to a point than if they did not furnish the armament.[14]

Yet despite the fact that Mr. Carse saw clearly that it was against Peru's best interests to begin naval building, he was ready to do all he could to persuade and assist her to do that very thing. The reason is to be found in another phrase in that same letter: "Our business is to sell armament."[15]

The culmination of this phase of the South American armament race—in which by this time British, French and Italian firms were as strenuously involved as those from America—came in 1933. In that year the Brazilian congress, despite that government's default on almost all its bonds, authorized the construction of what Mr. Spear told the senate committee was "practically a whole navy, including all kinds of ships." A combination was therefore formed, under the general direction of Mr. Bardo of the New York Shipbuilding company, by which to bid for the construction of the entire program. But Electric Boat, having gained considerable experience by this time in the South American field, insisted on payment in cash —"not nuts," Mr. Spear informed Mr. Bardo—and reserved the right to turn the submarine contract, if won, over to Vickers.[16] Financial difficulties have kept the Brazilian naval building program to a minimum, and it now seems probable that the revelations before the senate committee of the methods by which naval expansion has been peddled in South America will be sufficient to keep other nations of that continent from entering the major armament race which the vote of the Brazilian congress would otherwise have precipitated.

In the meantime, however, another element had entered the armaments competition among Latin republics. Naval and army equipment were too expensive to make large sales likely, but the American makers of aircraft and gas-bombs believed that the South American field offered an exceptional market for their wares. In the more recent stages of South American history—that is to say, in the period marked by the Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay, the Leticia dispute between Colombia and Peru, the overthrow of Machado in Cuba, and the Sao Paulo revolution in Brazil—the efforts of this new school of munitions makers have been unremitting.

Here, again, the sales technique seems to be that of first selling to one side and then warning the other side that it must buy in order to offset the first sale. Thus, on February 8, 1933, the president of the Curtiss-Wright Export corporation, Mr.

6. P. 109.
7. Cf. p. 112.
8. Ex. 78; p. 370.
9. Ex. 7; p. 311.
10. Cp. Ex. 60; p. 351 and many others. Note particularly in Ex. 61, p. 353 the suggestion made by Mr. Carse that submarine purchases be financed from oil concessions.
11. Ex. 127; p. 407.
12. Ex. 69; p. 361.
13. Ex. 68; p. 118.
14. Ex. 61; p. 353.
15. Ibid.
16. Cf. p. 179.

C. W. Webster, wrote his company's representative at Lima, Peru, Captain Clifton K. Travis:

> For your confidential information, their friends to the extreme north [Colombia] are still purchasing [airplanes] heavily.

Then, lest Captain Travis take the "confidential" warning too seriously, Mr. Webster immediately added:

> You might use this in your official conversations, but in a very careful and diplomatic manner.[17]

Sir Basil Zaharoff, who began his career by selling his own country, Greece, its first submarine and then using that as an argument to convince Turkey of its need for two, evidently could teach Mr. Webster nothing as to the technique of armament salesmanship.

Two days later Mr. Webster, after instructing his agent in Lima with regard to what to whisper in the proper Peruvian ears, took up an equally delicate sales possibility to the south. To his agent at Buenos Aires, Mr. Lawrence Leon, he wrote suggesting a trip to Asuncion, capital of Paraguay:

> . . . It seems to me that the Bolivia-Paraguay trouble has not yet reached its peak and the conditions instead of becoming better are gradually getting worse. If such is the case, it will be absolutely necessary for Paraguay to find the money for the purchase of aircraft and other munitions. If we are able to sell them anything, we will have to work very carefully and quietly, and possibly work through you as an individual, as the Bolivian government would naturally raise "merry hell" if they believed we were dealing with their enemies.[18]

It was about a month after this that Mr. Webster wrote the letter, which I have already quoted, to his representative in Chile, suggesting that letters be kept out of the files by being mailed directly to his home. The reason for this, Mr. Webster explained, was that "conditions are becoming very acute, and I do not wish our files to contain anything with a bearing on this business."[19] What business? Oh, merely a little transaction by which the Curtiss-Wright company, which was selling planes to the Brazilian government, was also selling ten planes then in Chile to a "Mr. Jones," who, as Mr. Webster's own letter points out, was really Commander Orsini, a Brazilian officer implicated in the Sao Paulo revolution. It is that sort of thing which the armament companies have been anxious to keep out of their files. But what they have left in!

Everything which pointed to an increase of fighting in South America, with its consequent human woe, gave cause for rejoicing to the munitions maker. Thus, on May 3, 1933, Mr. Webster sent Captain Travis, then at La Paz, the Bolivian capital, an airmail letter which brimmed over with satisfaction, in this manner:

> During the past few days the New York papers have carried stories of the Bolivian planes bombing some of the Paraguanian rail centers with considerable success. We are glad to see that they are at last making some real use of their planes, and hope their success will convince them of the advantages they would gain by getting more of the Hawks and Ospreys [types of planes].[20]

Conversely, the munitions maker was eager to grasp at every indication that peace efforts would not succeed. Thus, when the Leticia dispute between Colombia and Peru was finally brought to amicable negotiation, Mr. W. F. Goulding, vice-president of the Curtiss-Wright Export company, wrote Mr. Joaquin Samper H., agent in Bogota, the capital of Colombia:

> According to Lt. Gonzalez [a young aviator then on a visit to the United States], the current opinion in Colombia is that the negotiations with Peru will come to naught, in which case Colombia will again be faced with the necessity of a strong air force. We know, as a matter of fact, that Peru has not been idle in adding to their equipment, and, unless Colombia maintains and increases their air force which they have now started, they will lose the advantage which they now have.[21]

The Zaharoff technique again!

It may be remarked, however, that this method of selling to both sides in an attempt to run up the orders apparently did not make a good impression in Colombia. Perhaps the Curtiss-Wright agent at Bogota, who was a citizen of that country and not a go-getting American salesman, did not know just how to explain this practice to the government. At any rate, we find him forced to dispense with customary Latin politeness enough to reply to Mr. Goulding:

> . . . the position taken by the directors of your firm to sell to Colombia's potential enemy has greatly jeopardized future sales possibilities to this country.[22]

As an illustration of the lengths to which the munitions manufacturer is ready to go in pushing his wares, the testimony before the senate committee developed the fact that the Curtiss-Wright companies not only sold military planes to the Chaco combatants but actually sent American mechanics to the Chaco to service those planes for the Bolivian army, thus helping to keep the war going after it had once been started.[23] The question of neutrality involved seems never to have occurred to officials of the company, or if it did, they ignored it.

Equally determined was the effort made by the United Aircraft Export company to build up the air fleets of South America. At the time of the Sao Paulo revolution, this company received orders for 59 fighting planes from the Brazilian government, and after that episode was over its representatives indulged in mutual congratulations that they had not been caught in selling to the revolutionists, as their Curtiss-Wright competitors had been.[24] It entered vigorously into the sales drive to arm both sides in the Chaco. But the most revealing example of its influence in turning South America into an armed camp is to be seen in its dealing with Peru.

While the tension between Colombia and Peru was severe, at times reaching actual hostilities in the vicinity of Leticia, United Aircraft was selling to both sides. Mr. Francis H. Love, president of the export company, testified that this was understood by officials of both countries, and that there were no objections, although a letter from one of the company's principal salesmen, Mr. Clark M. Carr, begged the home office, when writing him while in the territory of one belligerent to say nothing about sales to another, since, said Mr. Carr, "I have no desire to become acquainted with the inside of a South American jail nor to experience the sensation of deportation."[25]

However, Mr. Carr may have been, as Mr. Love insisted, exaggerating, and the two nations may have been content to have sales made to both sides, provided the terms were the same. The trouble, from the standpoint of United Aircraft, was that Peru was so poor a commercial risk. United had sold Peru 26 fighting planes in 1930, and had never been able to collect the $745,000 due for them. Now (this was in 1932) *nobody* was able to collect from Peru, including great numbers of American investors in Peruvian bonds. If Peru was to buy planes, what was to be used for money?

The answer, as was brought out at great length in the hearings, proved to be guano.[26] A deal was concluded with the government of Peru, and with the government-controlled corporation which had a monopoly of the guano deposits on Peru's Pacific islands, under the terms of which the aircraft company was to provide capital to gather the guano, ship it in chartered steamers to the United States, pay the guaranteed 10 per cent income on the shipments to the holders of the preferred stock of

17. Ex. 348; p. 931.
18. Ex. 360; p. 939.
19. Ex. 364; p. 942.
20. Ex. 359; p. 938.
21. Ex. 356; p. 935.
22. Ex. 365; p. 944.
23. P. 803.
24. Cf. Ex. 571; p. 1564.
25. P. 1487; also Ex. 586; p. 1580.
26. Ex. 572, p. 1565; ex. 573, p. 1570.

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the government corporation (these were all "insiders" of the Leguia regime), and then sell the guano in the American market. At least 12,000 tons a year was to be disposed of in this manner for five years; in practice it turned out that the company wanted much more than that. After the guano had been sold, and the expenses up to that point deducted, the United company was then to divide the profits in this fashion: 50 per cent in cash to the government of Peru; 25 per cent to wipe out the indebtedness for the planes sold to Peru in 1930; the remaining 25 per cent for new munitions purchases through the United company. (The company later tried to persuade Peru that this meant that the entire 25 per cent had to be spent for United planes and products. Peru insisted that it could buy what munitions it pleased—it turned out that it was particularly interested in air-bombs—so long as it bought "through" United. United thereupon became a general broker in munitions, collecting a broker's commission on all sales under this contract.)

So far this looks like nothing more than a barter deal, whereby a bankrupt nation was enabled to buy materials—from a firm which insisted on cash in advance—wherewith to fight a war. But the trouble was that the bond issues of 1927 and 1928, which were in default, had carried the promise of the Peruvian government that it would

> not issue or guarantee any loan or obligation secured by a lien on specific revenues or without the consent of the fiscal agents, on specific assets unless prior thereto all bonds of the Peruvian national loan are given a lien on such revenue or assets.[27]

How get around that? The only answer seems to have been that a surprising number of the officers and directors of the interlocking group of firms of which United Aircraft Export company is a part were also directors of the National City bank of New York; that the National City company, a subsidiary of the bank, had assisted in financing these United Aircraft companies; that business relations between the aircraft export company and the National City bank were so close that attorneys of the bank were expected to pass on all letters of the aircraft company's agents which involved contractual commitments—and that the National City bank happened to be a fiscal agent of the Peruvian government in the matter of the defaulted bonds, and made no objection to the United Aircraft contracts![28]

It is a temptation to go on with this picture of the South American operations of the aircraft manufacturers, but space limitations must be observed. Let us look at the operations of another kind of firm, this time the Federal Laboratories, Inc., makers of gas of all sorts and bombs of every variety. Dealers, too, when occasion offered, in many other kinds of death-dealing material. For convenience sake, we may begin to study the part played by this concern in South American disorders by looking at some of the transactions of Mr. Frank S. Jonas. Mr. Jonas is the star salesman whose frank acknowledgment that he is in "one hell of a business" has already been quoted. In his testimony before the senate committee Mr. Jonas also frankly commented: "I wish I had had all my letters destroyed."[29] An interesting character, Mr. Jonas, and involved in some interesting deals. For example, the Sao Paulo revolution in Brazil.

To bring out the full flavor of the incident which I am about to relate it is necessary to begin by saying that one of the strongest boasts of the officers of Federal Laboratories, Inc., is that the gases and bombs and submachine guns they sell are always sold to officers of the law, and are never permitted to reach the hands of those who are possible disturbers of the peace.[30] Evidently, however, that is a policy reserved for the United States. In Brazil, when a revolution starts, it is another matter.

When the rumor of impending revolution in Sao Paulo first reached Mr. Jonas, he rushed a letter off on July 12, 1932, to Mr. Kendrick van Pelt, a Brazilian arms agent in that city:

> From the news in the papers in the last two days I was sure I would be receiving cables from you for all kinds of our material. According to the New York Times the lid is off in Brazil, so get busy and see if you cannot stir up something.[31]

A year later Mr. Jonas got his hoped for nibble. Another agent, Mr. Gordon Pickerell of Para, whose major line was Ford cars but who would not spurn a commission on other commodities, wrote that the Sao Paulo revolutionists were in the market for portable machine guns. That meant Thompson submachine guns—a weapon sold by Federal Laboratories. "Money they have and can arrange the necessary credits," Mr. Pickerell wrote. Also, he urged haste, since the revolutionists were asking bids from German arms firms.[32]

This put a ticklish problem before Mr. Jonas, selling as he was to the regular Brazilian government, and with the United States trying to stop sales to the revolutionists. So he wrote Mr. Pickerell, airmail, a letter which began with regrets that he could not make the sale, since it was

> too risky a proposition. You see, it is absolutely necessary that we make a sworn declaration specifying the party and the country to which the material is being sent, and I cannot afford to take the chance, especially since I specialize in armament.

That much of the letter was a model of correctness. But Mr. Jonas then went on to tell of mailing a catalogue for the Thompson guns, and quoted commissions. (Even though he couldn't make the sale there was no harm in letting the agent in Para have that much information!) And then, after his signature, he appended this:

> P.S. There is a man here in New York that might be able to do this business but not with the Thompson gun. He could supply Lewis 30.06 government machine guns and the Colt Browning 30.06 rifle. He asks $300 for the Lewis gun and $300 for the Colt Browning rifles. New 30.06 ammunition in quantities of 100,000 will cost $40 per thousand. If this type of gun would interest you, I will be able to handle it for you through this man. However, it will be on a cash basis, as this is the only way this business can be handled.[33]

To the committee Mr. Jonas insisted that the order never came through, and that he would not have filled it if it had. He did not deny, however, the specific nature of the offer contained in his postscript. Later, he defended his dealing with the revolutionists as well as with the Brazilian government on the ground that if the revolutionists won they would become the government, with which he must then be on good terms.

Even greater interest attaches to the testimony of the president of the Federal Laboratories, Mr. John W. Young. It was from Mr. Young's files that the committee extracted the letter, written by his brother, Paul Young, a missionary of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Ecuador, which cast such a strange light on missionary work in that field:

> My dear John: Since writing you last we have been in our Indian station in Agato, Otavalo. We had a week of joyful simple life. Our visit was a blessing to us and we have reason to believe it was also a blessing to Miss Brown and Miss Robel, the two brave girls stationed there. Six or eight Indians showed a desire to follow the Lord and we prayed with them. Some of them had made previous beginnings but had been pulled down by sin. Indian work needs a great deal of prayer.
>
> Yesterday I saw the minister of war again and made arrangements to demonstrate today. The minister, two generals, the head of the police of Quito, and a number of officers and soldiers were present. I used the "Billy" first but I am sorry to say it did not prove a success. I shot it at two soldiers but

27. P. 1492.
28. Cf. P. 1491; also ex. 588, p. 1582.
29. P. 1793.
30. Cp. testimony of J. W. Young, pp. 1616-1621.
31. Ex. 729; p. 1908.
32. Ex. 668; p. 1868.
33. Ex. 667; pp. 1867, 1868.

they were able to stand the gas and get me. I then shot the grenade in a room and asked the men to go in. This was a real success and helped to gain what I had lost through the failure of the Billie. . . .

Before leaving the minister asked me to give him the best price on 100 Billies and 200 grenades. I told him I would write you and have you send him quotations and terms direct. . . .

I have a letter from the Reed boys telling me that they are getting in touch with you. It may be best to have them as your agents from now on, but I don't think they should come in for any of this first order as I——[The rest of this letter is missing.][34]

Mr. Young's most interesting activities proved to have been with the various "ins" and "outs" in Cuba, for he had dealt continually, if not impartially, with both. While selling various articles—including, revealingly enough, a bullet-proof Lincoln automobile—to the Machado government, Mr. Young was also in conference with the Mendieta-Menocal group. When Machado fell, the munitions man, expecting Mendieta to take over the presidency, immediately wrote:

I just wanted to express our congratulations to you and your associates on the marvelous outcome in Cuba. We, of course, regret that such a price of human life was paid, but it could have been much worse. I am so glad that you did not have to go through with the big program discussed with you, General Menocal, Dr. Gomez and Mr. Texidor. After matters adjust themselves and your own position is established in the new government I believe I can be of service to Cuba in establishing a means of national safety against further uprisings.[35]

But Mendieta did not attain the presidency. That fell, for a few days, to Dr. Cespedes. Mr. Young had no dealings with the Cespedes government, which led to this repartee at the hearings:

Mr. Young. I never knew Cespedes.

Senator Clark. That is probably one of the reasons he could not hang on.[36]

Cespedes was followed in office by Dr. Grau San Martin, while the Mendieta group continued to plot a new uprising. Mr. Young now informed his agent in Havana (the Mr. Texidor mentioned in his previous letter) that he would be paid commissions of 10 per cent on all sales to the Mendieta group, and of 15 to 20 per cent, depending on the product, on sales to the Grau government.[37] Just what the reasons were for this extraordinary procedure, offering higher commissions on sales to a government than to a revolutionary group with questionable financial prospects, the senate committee, despite diligent questioning, was not able clearly to bring out. Knowing, however, the lack of enthusiasm for the Grau government shown by the United States, the committee made certain surmises.

At any rate, Mr. Young went on selling to both "ins" and "outs" until their relations were reversed. When Mendieta finally took office he had already purchased $30,000 worth of gas, bombs and other materials from Young.[38] Ten days after Mendieta became president Young was appointed "consultant to direct the planning, organizing, training and equipping of a national police force," at a salary of $12,000.[39] Orders, not surprisingly, have continued to come to Federal Laboratories from the Mendieta government, so that by July 26, 1934, the company was able to send a general letter to all its export agents which included this paragraph:

The Cuban government has already purchased over $400,000 of equipment with more to follow. Included in this equipment is gas hand grenades, both tear and sickening gas; gas riot guns and shells, gas billies and cartridges, gas masks, Thompson submachine guns, portable chemical cylinders, with gas and smoke charges, etc.[40]

34. Ex. 747; pp. 1917, 1918.
35. Ex. 616; p. 1839.
36. P. 1638.
37. Ex. 618; p. 1840.
38. P. 1659.
39. Ex. 631; p. 1659.
40. Ex. 714; p. 1900.

The chief competitor of Federal Laboratories is the Lake Erie Chemical company, which carries on its export munitions business under the title of U. S. Ordnance Engineers, Inc. It is the contention of other firms—as will appear elsewhere in this study—that this name has been contrived to give foreign governments the idea that gas, bombs, machine guns and other munitions purchased from this firm are a product of the American army, or at least manufactured under army formulas. Needless to say, the Lake Erie company energetically denies this. Its files, at the same time, were found to be full of complaints of unethical practices by its principal rival. The general spirit in which it carried on its efforts for Latin American trade is well suggested by a letter from Mr. F. V. Huber, general South American agent, to Mr. B. C. Goss, president of the company, written at the time when the president of Federal Laboratories was engaged in the Cuban manipulations already described:

If we are able to prove anything that Young sold merchandise to the supposed to be "outs" of the government we can naturally cook his goose immediately and are bending every effort to get some concrete facts.[41]

The Lake Erie company appears to have done considerable business with various Latin republics, but not enough to satisfy. Thus, writing from Nicaragua in 1933, after detailing the order for rifle grenades which that government was negotiating, Mr. Huber told Mr. Goss:

If these countries had loose cash, I could make a cleaning down here for both of us and eventually will get it. I really spurn a $5,000 order because I am convinced they should spend five or ten times this amount in a single order and use every force available, but finally—take what they can finance without trouble.[42]

This picture of an armament salesman "using every force available" to make the uneasy states of Central America increase their orders for bombs five or tenfold, is worth remembering.

The du Pont interests have, of course, been active for years in securing export business, and much might be written as to their activities in South America. There is one interesting comment in the inquiry record, made just after the du Pont brothers had advised the committee against making public the contents of five cablegrams lest trouble ensue in an unnamed South American country, which will suggest the importance of the role which this company has played in that continent:

Mr. Raushenbush. . . . Are you in a situation where the divulgence of certain things that you do may cause a political repercussion in a certain South American country?

Mr. Lammot du Pont. I think the publication of those might do so; yes.

Mr. Raushenbush. That is the answer to the question.[43]

It will prove more convenient, however, to consider du Pont operations in other parts of this study.

Two observations, somewhat in the nature of footnotes to this entire section, remain to be made.

First, if such testimony as has been mentioned indicates that American munitions firms have played an important part in arming South America and so producing a series of international crises in that continent, it is conversely true that the situation thus produced there has brought into being at least one important American munitions firm. This is another example of the vicious circle principle in the armaments business. The reference is to the American Armament corporation, which was formed in December, 1933, by a hustling salesman of the Driggs Ordnance company, Mr. A. J. Miranda, who returned from a trip to South America convinced that the market there was wide open. Mr. Miranda discovered a manufacturing company, the Elevator Supplies company, employing skilled machinists, which was in danger of going on the rocks as a re-

41. Ex. 788; p. 2067.
42. Ex. 785; p. 2064.
43. P. 1194.

sult of the depression. Its president, Mr. Frank Johnson, proved ready to supply Miranda with credit and manufacturing facilities in return for 20 per cent of the stock of the new munitions corporation, and for a monopoly on its gun manufacturing. In the first six months of its history this company, in which not a penny was invested, sold various munitions to the Dominican republic, Cuba and Bolivia sufficient to make a net profit of $161,249.09.[44] It also had orders for more than $2,000,000 worth of munitions for Bolivia which were held up by the presidential embargo of May 28, 1934.

Second, despite the widespread feeling that there is something wrong about a trade which sells to both combatants in a conflict, thus aiding men indiscriminately to wipe out each other, the senate hearings have brought forth protests from practically all the munitions makers that it is only possible to preserve neutrality by thus selling to both sides. For example, in the examination of United Aircraft:

> Senator Clark. About the same time you were attempting to sell to Paraguay and Bolivia, both at the same time, were you not, who were actually in a state of war?
>
> Mr. Love. Yes, sir. Would you prefer we take sides in favor of one country or the other?[45]

Major K. K. V. Casey, du Pont director of sales, maintained that munitions firms "cannot sell to one nation and not to another, if they are observing the laws of neutrality."[46] Mr. F. J. Monaghan, export manager of the Remington Arms company, while telling of the way in which his firm had sold rifle cartridges to Bolivia and revolver cartridges to Paraguay for use in the Chaco, made the same claim:

> Senator Pope. In your opinion, isn't there a moral or an ethical principle involved in the policy of selling to only one or both the belligerents in a war?
>
> Mr. Monaghan. I believe that we would have to be neutral in the matter, a neutral nation.
>
> Senator Pope. By that you mean sell to both, as their orders may come, or as your opportunities may come?
>
> Mr. Monaghan. Yes, sir.[47]

Such words are not to be dismissed as mere rationalization on the part of profit-seeking industrialists who are intent on defending all the methods by which they are making money. The problem involved is a difficult one. Indeed, it is so difficult that the question inevitably arises as to whether it can be solved by a *private* munitions industry.

IV.

Thwarting Peace Efforts

BY the negotiation of treaties for the control of arms exports, by the maintenance of treaty provisions already in effect and of accepted principles of international law, by embargoes, and by export regulations of many kinds the nations have been trying, at least ostensibly, to check some of the more glaring of the "grave abuses" which the league covenant declares characterize the private arms industry. The United States has taken a conspicuous part in all these efforts. What can be said as to the attitude of the American munitions manufacturers toward these efforts on behalf of peace?

At once the notorious Shearer incident springs to mind, and that episode is reviewed in the senate hearings, from the employment of Mr. William B. Shearer by the "Big Three" shipbuilding firms to act as an "observer" at the Geneva naval disarmament conference in 1927, to his boasts of his effectiveness in wrecking that conference, and on to the sordid end when, having failed to collect $250,000 for his services, he reminded Mr. Bardo, president of New York Shipbuilding, that the "Fall-Sinclair-Doheny scandal was primarily due to the failure of the above trio to pay someone on the list $250,000 as their share in the Teapot Dome scandal," and threatened that if an equal amount were not paid him "there would be a new era in scandal which would jar the nation from its center to its circumference."[1]

We are working under such limitations of space, however, that I will not try to tell the often-told Shearer story here again. Neither will I tell, in detail, of the way in which Mr. H. R. Humphreys, of the New York Shipbuilding company, while taking a "pleasure trip" to Europe chanced to visit Geneva and, while there, "just happened" to run into his old friend, Admiral A. T. Long, a member of the American delegation, at breakfast. Mr. Humphreys could see nothing unusual in that chance meeting, but the members of the senate committee seemed to feel that there were several strange coincidences in the fact of the meeting, the fact that it was immediately followed by a letter in which Humphreys wrote Bardo: "The yard has nothing to worry over anything drastic being done at the disarmament conference now being held at Geneva," and the further fact that the New York company shortly after began a large expansion of its plant facilities.[2] This Mr. Humphreys, by the way, was the type of "contact man"—a polite term for lobbyist—who was constantly reminding his employers of the value of the "missionary work" he was doing for them, and who was careful to let it be known that he was the brother-in-law of one senator and the son-in-law of another. What senators, the record does not show.[3]

There was also the interesting episode in which Commander Aubry, who had resigned from the Peruvian navy to become South American agent for the Electric Boat company, informed his employers, as the Geneva conference neared:

> I am planning to be appointed by the government, if you permit, delegate for Peru in the disarmament conference. . . . I feel that I can do something good for Peru there, as well as for the cause for the submarines in South America. My flag will be "No quotas in submarines" construction in South America, and classify it as a "defensive weapon."[4]

Evidently the Electric Boat company was not as apprehensive over what might happen at Geneva as were the "Big Three" who sent Shearer. At any rate, when the president of the submarine company discovered that it would cost the firm $15 a day and expenses to have Commander Aubry on the Peruvian delegation, he turned the financial end of the proposal down, and Commander Aubry did not go.[5]

But these are incidents involving individuals only, and their bearing on the relation of the arms industry as a whole to governmental efforts to safeguard peace has been held, by the munitions makers, of small importance. Therefore let us study the relations of the industry as such toward one specific event—the disarmament conference at Geneva in 1925, which attempted to draw up an international treaty giving official definition to the term "munitions," and to require a system of licensing whereby, before exports of military munitions could take place from any country, a license must be issued and public announcement made by the government of that country.

The announcement of the agenda of the conference produced a disturbance among munitions makers everywhere, and an "international congress of gun makers" was held at Paris which drew up proposed revisions for the "draft convention for the control of the international trade in arms, munitions and implements of war" which was being put before the coming conference by the commission of the league. On being asked by Senator Clark the effect of the gun makers' revisions, Dr. Manley O. Hudson, professor of international law at Harvard, gave it as his opinion that they would, if adopted, have greatly

44. The story of the spectacular rise of this company forms Part 3 of the record of the senate inquiry. For balance sheet cf. ex. 264; p. 686.
45. P. 1488.
46. P. 2350.
47. P. 2350.

1. 61 FS.
2. 52, 53 GP.
3. 56 GP.
4. Ex. 65; p. 356.
5. Ex. 66; p. 357.

XUM

"alleviated" its force. A comparison of the texts will show that they would have emptied the treaty of all meaning.[6]

American munitions makers were not represented at the Paris congress, but they lost no time in registering at Washington their protests against American adherence to the proposed treaty. In this, officers of the Winchester Repeating Arms company and the du Pont company took a leading part. Officers of the du Pont firm received confidential information from the chief of ordnance of the United States army that General C. L. Ruggles would be one of the American delegates, this information preceding General Ruggles' appointment by 17 days. Du Pont representatives were soon in conference with General Ruggles, who tried to reassure them "that it was the definite policy of the war department to aid private munitions manufacturers in the United States in every possible way, and that he believed sufficient pressure could be brought to bear on the department of state to prevent their antagonism to the manufacturers." General Ruggles told the munitions men that the license system would have American support at Geneva, but that the issuing of licenses might be made a duty of the department of commerce rather than of the state department, and the vice-chairman of the executive committee of du Pont, Major Aiken Simons, in drawing up his memorandum report, added the comment, "which [arrangement] would be better for the manufacturers."[7]

This confidence in the favor of the commerce department seemed well founded when, five days later, Mr. Herbert Hoover, then secretary of that department, called a general meeting of the arms makers in Washington. At that meeting it became clear that the manufacturers' objections were principally two: first, the inclusion of pistols and revolvers in the category of war materials, and second, the licensing plan for exports. Mr. Hoover urged the munitions companies to form a permanent organization to protect their own interests, which they did, making Mr. H. F. Beebe, of the Winchester Repeating Arms company, chairman. And, at a later conference between munitions makers and members of the American delegation to the Geneva conference, Major Simons' report states:

> Mr. Hoover stated that due to the representations made by the war department, the navy department and the manufacturers' committee, the U. S. delegates would make reservations on the proposed draft which would render it harmless to American interests.[8]

Three years later Major Simons, in summarizing the whole episode, concluded by writing:

> It is believed that by the action of Mr. Hoover in appointing this committee and the committee's subsequent work, the Geneva conference was prevented from adopting international agreements which would have been burdensome to American manufacturers.[9]

Such an estimate of Mr. Hoover, which seems to have been general throughout the munitions industry in 1925, reads ironically when contrasted with the letter sent to shipbuilders during the campaign of 1932 by Mr. A. P. Homer, whose relations with the building of naval warships will be brought out later. In that letter contributions for the election of Mr. Roosevelt were asked from shipbuilders on the ground that "if we are to have a treaty-strength navy we must have someone other than a pacifist in the White House."[10]

Another aspect of this question of the relation of the munitions industry to efforts for making and preserving peace is to be seen in the feeling of antagonism toward the state department, the branch of the government which is especially charged with this responsibility. The remarks of General Ruggles, already quoted, suggest the way in which this antagonism was generally taken for granted by army and munitions men, and the du Pont memorandum also referred directly to "the well-known hostility of that department [of state] to American munitions manufacturers."[11] This sense of conflict between the munitions makers and the state department crops up again and again throughout the senate committee hearings. Why?

For one thing, it is clear that the arms firms feel that the overseas representatives of the state department are not called on to help swell the export sales of American munitions makers as are the ambassadors, ministers and consuls of other nations. The du Pont memorandum on the Hoover conference at Washington is revealing on this point:

> Mr. Nichols of the Colt company stated . . . that United States exporters of munitions were greatly handicapped by the hostile attitude toward them of the United States department of state whereas European manufacturers were not only aided by their foreign officers, but that army, navy and diplomatic representatives of foreign governments actually assisted the sale of such items.
>
> Mr. Hoover concurred to this, saying that the larger munitions, such as ships, heavy guns, etc., of European manufacturers were actually sold by government officials of those countries.
>
> Major Casey [of du Pont] replied that it was high time the United States took the same view.[12]

Yet this claim of being left without support by the state department—in contrast with the selling aid offered by the war, navy and commerce departments—is not substantiated by the record. There is at least evidence that an ambassador to Brazil stepped in to keep the president of that republic from buying submarines from Italy.[13] And that the state department ordered an ambassador to Italy to assist an Italian submarine building company, using Electric Boat company patents, in bidding for submarine orders from the Italian navy against other Italian bidders.[14] On the whole, however, there is reason to believe that the state department has been lukewarm over the expansion of an American export trade in munitions.

For this reason, many of the companies give evidence of a desire to keep much of their export business from the state department's knowledge. Examples are to be found in the explanation given by Mr. Carse, president of Electric Boat, of his intention to "camouflage this transaction" when a river gunboat was sold to Peru—he did not want Colombia to be able to lodge a complaint with the state department.[15] Du Pont, likewise, was anxious to keep sales to Japan from that department's knowledge, and sales to Russia as well.[16]

As to the general attitude of men in the industry toward the activities of the state department, the record reveals the wrath of Mr. Spear, the submarine builder, at the "pernicious activities" of the department in forcing settlement of the Arica dispute;[17] the scorn of the du Pont agent in China (a former naval attaché at the United States legation) for the "futile altruism" of the department's embargo on arms shipments to the war lords of that distracted country;[18] and the boast of the export manager of Remington Arms, when the department proposed that the President be given power to place an embargo on arms shipments, that "any of these crazy ideas" would be killed.[19]

But lest the men in the department of state at Washington feel that this sentiment among the munitions makers is reserved for them alone, there is the protest from the Curtiss-Wright agent in Santiago, Chile, at a time when his company wanted to ship planes from Chile to the Chaco, against the effort of the

6. Ex. 825, p. 2228; ex. 824, p. 2226; p. 2135.
7. Ex. 837; p. 2247.
8. Ibid, p. 2255.
9. Ex. 831, p. 2242.
10. 38 AS.
11. Ex. 837, p. 2247.
12. Ibid, p. 2248.
13. Ex. 97, p. 383.
14. Ex. 140, p. 219.
15. P. 157.
16. Ex. 1005, p. 2674; ex. 1009, p. 2683.
17. Ex. 127, p. 407.
18. Ex. 875, p. 2373.
19. Ex. 907, p. 2393.

Chilean foreign minister to "foment peace"![20] The expression, perhaps written unconsciously, reveals more than hours of cross-examination might as to the nature of the munitions salesman's mind.

One effort to preserve peace which the world has recently witnessed has involved observance of those clauses of the treaty of Versailles and of the treaty of peace between the United States and Germany which forbid the rearmament of that nation, or its engaging in the importing or exporting of munitions. For, as Senator Vandenburg well put it, without reference to the ethics of the policy involved, the outcome of this treaty prohibition had great importance for the purposes of the senate committee, since

> here was the greatest attempt in the history of the world to effect a disarmament control. We are not concerned with the right or the wrong of it. We are solely concerned with its effectiveness, or its impotence, as a lesson in combating the forces and influences involved.[21]

How faithfully has the private munitions industry observed the munitions clauses of the treaties with regard to the disarmament of Germany?

That Germany actually rearmed to an enormous extent before Herr Hitler formally denounced the disarmament clauses in the treaties is today generally admitted. The picture of the process by which this took place, as it was laid before the senate committee, follows a curve that might be regarded as amusing were it not for the seriousness of the issues involved. It starts with strenuous protests from the du Pont agent in Paris, Colonel W. N. Taylor, against the way in which European arms firms—he named specifically Armstrong, Vickers, Nobel and Schneider—were falling in with plans for the rehabilitation of the German armament interests. This is in 1924.[22] It is followed by a long memorandum in 1926 in which Colonel Taylor insists that if Nobel—the English explosives firm, later to become Imperial Chemicals—would stop "winking" at what was going on they could bring pressure to bear through the British government to stop German rearmament.[23] But at the beginning of that same year du Pont had renewed its own relations with Koln-Rottweiler and Dynamite Aktien Gesellschaft —formerly the German branch of the Nobel interests—which provided for an exchange of patents and all secret inventions on explosives for industrial purposes, although the du Pont witnesses admitted that much of the material covered by this agreement could be used for military purposes. By 1929 du Pont was ready to become a partner with German armament interests in a Dutch ordnance company, clearly meant to be used for the supplying of German guns to the export trade.[24] And by that time another branch of the American munitions industry, the aviation companies, were entering on one of the most spectacular selling campaigns in their history in supplying planes and engines to a nation which was forbidden, by treaty, to have an air force.

From the initial protests registered by Colonel Taylor against the unrighteousness of the European arms firms, it may be suspected that by the time Hitler and Göring were ready to denounce the treaty and defy the world the American arms firms had progressed to a point where they were doing the lion's share of the illegal business. United Aircraft, which had sold only $2,000 worth of materials to Germany in 1931 (but $210,000 to Holland), and $6,000 in 1932, sold $272,000 in 1933, the year that the nazis triumphed, and $1,445,000 in the first eight months of 1934![25] To be sure, the planes sold were shipped as "mail planes," thus keeping the letter of the treaty, but it was admitted by Mr. Charles W. Deeds, one of the officers, that these were "basically the same design" as the 2-seater fighting planes supplied the United States navy.[26]

If there are persons still able to believe that United Aircraft could trace no relation between this 72,250 per cent increase in its German business in three years and Germany's air rearmament, then let them study the dealings of the Pratt & Whitney company, makers of airplane engines, with the Bayerische Motoren Werke, A. G., of Munich.[27] Pratt & Whitney first granted the Bavarian company the right to build their engines for use on German planes—commercial and military—under an agreement by which they were to receive $200 royalty per engine. But this involved a report on the number of engines manufactured. So the Bavarian company asked for a change in the contract, which was thereupon altered so that they paid a flat royalty of $50,000 a year without regard to the number of engines manufactured. The advantages in such an arrangement to a nation attempting to build up air armament in violation of treaty stipulations need no pointing out. But with contracts of this sort falling to their lot, it is not surprising that Mr. Deeds and the two other gentlemen who formed Pratt & Whitney with an initial investment of $1,000 in 1925 had made 1,143,725 per cent on their investment in seven years.

The record with regard to the attitude of the arms industry toward embargoes is equally disturbing. In 1928 the proposal to grant the President power to lay down embargoes against arms exports took definite form with the introduction of bills into congress by Representative Hamilton Fish and Representative Theodore E. Burton. The former was not seriously considered, but the latter passed the house and was only defeated in the senate by a filibuster conducted by Senator Hiram Bingham, whose interest in the expansion of the airplane industry was generally known. Immediately General Amos A. Fries, chief of the chemical warfare service of the army, posted a letter to Mr. Irénée du Pont declaring that the Burton resolution "to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to belligerent nations," would "encourage the radicals and communists to continually attack the United States in its commercial relations with other nations when any two or more of them may be engaged in war."[28]

Just what the general meant by that it might be difficult to determine with precision, but Mr. du Pont replied, in a letter which was widely circulated:

> Dear General: I agree with you that a law passed by congress forbidding exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to belligerent nations would result in much mischief or worse. In fact, enforcing such a statute may very well force the United States into war with one of the belligerents. . . . If we are going to take the position of forcing our will on other nations in the shape of "thou shalt not fight," we had better get prepared to do a good deal of fighting ourselves.[29]

The du Pont forces immediately swung into action at Washington, receiving prompt assurance from ranking officers in the navy department that they would "take appropriate action to have the bill opposed on the floor of the house."[30] They were not alone. Not only did other munitions firms enter the fight, but, in the words of the Bulletin of the Manufacturing Chemists Association of the United States, reporting the hearings before the foreign affairs committee of the house:

> The most effective testimony against the [embargo] measure was presented by Secretary Davis, of the war department, and Secretary Wilbur, of the navy department, who represented that a denial to American manufacturers of the right to export munitions to belligerents would have far-reaching results reacting disastrously upon plans for national defense.[31]

20. Ex. 363, p. 941.
21. P. 2174.
22. Ex. 854, p. 2262.
23. Ex. 856, p. 2264.
24. Ex. 858, p. 2266.
25. Pp. 1494, 1496.
26. P. 1518.
27. Ex. 593, p. 1585; ex. 594, p. 1593; ex. 595, p. 1594.
28. P. 2729.
29. Ex. 1037, p. 2730.
30. P. 2721. It was the Fish resolution to which the navy officers specifically referred in this assurance, but they added that they were already opposing the Burton resolution.
31. Ex. 1047, p. 2743.

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However, as the crisis in the Chaco deepened into war, pressure grew upon congress and the President to announce an embargo. Whereupon Mr. F. J. Monaghan, export manager of Remington Arms, wrote reassuringly to his agent, Mr. J. H. Spencer, in Santiago, Chile, who had become fearful lest something interfere with the filling of orders he expected to obtain from the combatants:

> About the agitation for an embargo . . . you can well appreciate when this first reached our ears from Washington *we immediately got busy*, and we are thoroughly satisfied from the reports that came back to us there will be no embargo from this country. From what we hear the idea originated with the state department, but is not receiving any serious consideration in congress or by the President. We reached some mighty high officials in the government and feel confident nothing will prevent the execution of any business we can get.[32]

Mr. Monaghan's confidence was betrayed; a year later not only the United States but most of the other nations had laid down an embargo against shipments to Paraguay and Bolivia. Just before the embargo went into effect several large orders were booked, notably by the American Armament corporation, which, in the interval between the passage of the embargo resolution by congress on May 18 and the publication of the President's proclamation on May 28, received orders for $2,043,000 worth of munitions from Bolivia. When the question arose as to whether the state department would permit these to be shipped—a question which was decided largely in the negative—the company maintained that

> the sales were made and deposits made for certain material before the President's proclamation was made. All that material has been sold to the Bolivian government and it is the Bolivian government's property and there is no law in this country that can prevent the Bolivian government from taking their own property to Bolivia.[33]

More than a year previously the Curtiss-Wright firm had tried to prepare for this exigency by securing assurances from its agent in Santiago that, in case an embargo was laid down, there would be no objection on the part of the Chilean government to the firm assembling planes to be sold the Chaco combatants in its Chilean factory and shipping from there.[34] The company's principal South American agent also reported himself as trying to sign the Bolivian government up for "all future needs" two days after President Roosevelt's embargo proclamation was issued.

A month later an incident occurred which not only casts light on the relation of the arms industry to an embargo, but should also be remembered when, on a later page, the interlocking character of the industry is considered. Not only are the trade and patent relations of du Pont and Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., of Great Britain, extremely close, but Mr. N. E. Bates, jr., was serving as agent at Buenos Aires for both companies. In June, 1934, Mr. Bates received an inquiry for 2,000 kilos of TNT to be sold by du Pont to Paraguay. Inasmuch as the American embargo was on, but there was no similar embargo in England, Mr. Bates turned this deal over to I.C.I., knowing, of course, that du Pont would get its commission out of the sale if it were made by the British company.[35] As it turned out, however, the British government also made objections, and I.C.I. did not go through with the deal.

That the same thing might work the other way around had been shown earlier, in March 1934, when the Soley Armament company, of England, dealer in surplus war materials of the British army, discovered that it might have trouble with the export licensing requirements of the British government in trying to ship a large order of rifles to Bolivia. The Soley company thereupon approached the American Armament corporation to discover whether it would handle the sale, since at that time there were no troublesome regulations affecting such shipments as were ostensibly those of American firms.[36]

This whole question of the relation of the munitions industry to an embargo had previously been raised in acute form by the embargo in China, where from 1919 to 1929 there was supposed to be an international embargo on arms shipments. Here again, the situation first developed with American firms complaining of the chicanery of European firms in evading the embargo. Thus Captain I. V. Gillis, du Pont agent in Peking, writing in July, 1924, to Major Casey, director of military sales for that firm, reported:

> The embargo becomes more and more of a farce from day to day, and the inspector general of customs, Sir Francis Aglen, openly admits the fact, and states that he is powerless to prevent munitions of war from being imported. . . . Only a few weeks ago an American vessel arrived at Shanghai loaded with lumber as far as the manifest showed, but also carrying a large consignment of arms and munitions, and while discharging the lumber she also succeeded in landing the greater part of the munitions before the customs discovered what was going on. The small amount remaining was confiscated, but eventually will find their way into the hands of the military officials.[37]

In 1921 du Pont officials, saying that "we believe this matter comes under the heading of 'unfavorable legislation by the United States government,'" had done their best to induce Mr. Hughes, then secretary of state, to lift the embargo.[38] They even went so far, acting on the advice of some unnamed person in the state department, as to ask their agent to obtain a definite order from China which could be placed before the state department officials, thus forcing a showdown on the maintenance of the embargo.[39] But when the United States government proved adamant, despite the charges that European arms firms were continually evading the embargo, du Pont finally began to stretch points in order to share in the lucrative business of supplying the wants of the Chinese war lords.

Five months before Captain Gillis made the complaint against the European firms already partly quoted, Major Casey had quoted prices to Steffen & Heymann, a Berlin firm—that is to say, a firm in a nation prohibited by treaty from engaging in munitions exports—on smokeless powder for field guns and mountain guns. The German inquiry frankly stated that this was for the use of the Manchurian war lord, Chang Tso-lin, and the du Pont reply, while acknowledging that "owing to the position taken by our state department" it could not ship the powder to China, was careful to point out that there was nothing to stop its being shipped to "any of the 'neutral' European countries."[40]

By 1929 du Pont was ready to go even farther. In July of that year Colonel Taylor, general European representative, who also acted as European representative for Imperial Chemicals, reported to the home office that the Mukden government had sent a purchasing agent to Holland with a large amount of cash to buy munitions. It was proposed to form a dummy corporation in Holland of the firms which wished to share in this business, and it had been suggested that if du Pont would go in it would get the powder orders.[41] On August 2 Major Casey authorized Colonel Taylor, acting in his own name, to purchase $4,000 worth of stock in this corporation.[42] But the du Pont name was not to appear.

With a situation of that sort obtaining, and with the Nanking government claiming that the embargo was actually operating to aid its enemies, the embargo was lifted in that same

32. Ex. 907, p. 2393.
33. Ex. 259, p. 677.
34. Ex. 364, p. 943; ex. 387, p. 964.
35. Ex. 477, p. 1337.
36. Ex. 260, pp. 679, 680.
37. Ex. 870, p. 2371.
38. P. 2275.
39. P. 2278.
40. Ex. 868, p. 2286.
41. Ex. 888, p. 2327.
42. Ex. 889, p. 2328.

year. In 1933, however, when rumors got around that the United States might again resort to that policy, Intercontinental Aviation, Inc., the selling agency in China for Curtiss-Wright, hastily closed a "dummy" order with the Nanking government for 96 airplanes, which was to go into effect only in case an embargo was actually proclaimed. There were no specifications in this order; types and prices of the planes were not mentioned; it was simply an attempt by the most flourishing branch of the American munitions export business to have a pre-dated blanket contract in its files which it could flash in the faces of state department officials if a policy of the United States government should be announced which might interfere with the golden profits the aviation firms were garnering in China.[43]

Finally, as a general footnote to this consideration of the relation of the arms industry to embargoes, I would like to refer the reader to the complete testimony of Mr. Stephen W. Hamilton, deputy collector of customs at the port of New York, as given in Part 8 of the hearings. Mr. Hamilton revealed that the regulations covering exports are so lax that government officials have no information as to the character of shipments except such as is contained in the ship's manifest; even when it is suspected that something labeled "machinery" may really be machine guns the port officers have no authority to open the boxes and investigate. (In this connection, recall the report of Captain Gillis on an American ship arriving at Shanghai, already quoted.) As indicating that, even with an embargo proclaimed, the position of a determined munitions exporter may not be so helpless, consider this characteristic extract from Mr. Hamilton's testimony:

> The Chairman. If the crate is labeled "machinery" you assume that has no relation to arms?
>
> Mr. Hamilton. Absolutely, and we do not do anything about it.
>
> Senator Clark. If somebody wanted to send out machine guns and labeled them machine parts, they would go right on out?
>
> Mr. Hamilton. Yes; there is no question about it.
>
> The Chairman. What is the penalty, under the law, for falsifying the labeling on the declaration?
>
> Mr. Hamilton. There is no penalty at all that I know of, excepting the penalty referred to by Mr. Tupper [a previous witness], which is $50 penalty for failure to file a declaration, and they never fail to file it.
>
> Senator Clark. If they were to send out tear gas or mustard gas or anything else like that, and label it quinine, there would be no way of questioning it?
>
> Mr. Hamilton. Exactly.[44]

V.

Using the Government as an Arms Salesman

IT is the theory of the private arms industry that, in order to keep its plants running at full capacity and its workmen at the keenest edge of productive efficiency, so that it may be able to swing into providing for America's military and naval needs on a moment's notice, it must have a constant flow of munitions orders from abroad. Many times in the course of the senate committee's hearings the munition makers have talked as though they were in the export business simply as a favor to the United States army and navy, and despite their own real desires, because that was the only way in which they could meet the expectations of the war and navy departments for adequate cooperation. When this premise of the private arms firms is grasped, it is not difficult to see why these firms often feel free to use the services of government officers and of government materials—at taxpayers' expense, of course—to promote their own sales and profits.

But the extent of the practice, the closeness of the tie-up between the personnel of the war, navy and commerce departments and the sales promotion campaigns of the munitions companies, had never been suspected by the public until the senate investigations began to uncover it. Unfortunately again, I can do no more here than hint at what the record of the hearings reveals. But just to run rapidly through a small sampling of the testimony, many will find new light thrown on the nature of the problem with which the Nye committee is wrestling by pondering the significance of facts such as follow:

It was shown, for example, that the Washington representative of the Electric Boat company had felt it perfectly all right to ask Admiral Niblack to send naval submarines to South America to demonstrate their superior qualities at a time when the American company was competing with European companies for South American business.[1] It was shown that Mr. W. A. Harriman, now a leading light of the NRA but then a shipbuilder, had not hesitated to expect an American admiral, head of the naval mission to Peru, to act as intermediary in arranging for a loan to pay for warships to be sold that country.[2] It was found that the Electric Boat company had been given assurances that the same admiral would block any purchases of Swedish submarines by Peru.[3] And when, with the recommendation of the American naval mission, Peru purchased submarines from the Electric Boat company and asked Admiral Woodward, as chief of the mission, to recommend an expert to inspect the boats before they were accepted and paid for by the Peruvian navy, the admiral passed the whole thing along to the Electric Boat company, allowing that concern to name the man he would nominate to pass on the worth of its own product![4]

It never happened? Oh, yes, it did!

Or take the case of the aviation firms—the "infants" of the munitions industry, and therefore normally in the tradition of government aid. Did they get it? To begin with, there was the official declaration of the two departments:

> The war and navy departments will encourage the American aeronautical industry in developing foreign business and assist in such development so far as consistent with national policy and the needs of the national defense.[5]

This is held to mean that the departments will not give permission for the sale of planes or parts which involve secrets of construction that the fighting services wish to retain for the exclusive use of the United States. In any case, a blanket restriction against selling for export any plane during its first year of production in this country is supposed to be in force. But it is provided that exceptions can be made, and in actual practice the airplane manufacturers have discovered that they can obtain permission from the navy department to sell their latest, and supposedly most secret, developments whenever a good offer comes from abroad.[6] The defense offered, by manufacturers and naval officials, is that by selling the latest models the American companies can gain command of the foreign market and can thus furnish the American army and navy intelligence services with full information as to what is going on in the aviation services of other nations.

This readiness of the navy to help along sales made it ready to release a large number of planes which United Aircraft was just finishing for the navy in order that it might gain the profit on a rush order from Brazil.[7] (Incidentally, Curtiss-Wright mourned that it did not have planes under construction for our government at the same time so that it might have made a similar quick profit.)[8] But later Curtiss-Wright was able to get the same help in making an unexpected profit in China.[9]

43. Ex. 390, p. 811.
44. P. 2027.

1. Ex. 56, p. 348.
2. Ex. 65, p. 356.
3. Ex. 67, p. 358.
4. Ex. 71, p. 364.
5. Ex. 413, p. 982.
6. Cf. Ex. 421, p. 998; ex. 422, p. 836; ex. 424, p. 989.
7. Ex. 370, p. 1563, 1564.
8. Ex. 427, p. 991.
9. Ex. 423, p. 988.

When the Argentine navy made confidential inquiries of the United States navy concerning a future aviation program which it had it in mind to launch, that "confidential" information was immediately passed along by the naval intelligence bureau to Curtiss-Wright.[10] And if this was not enough to prove to the company how helpful the navy department desired to be in selling Curtiss-Wright planes, there was the episode of the recommendation to South American buyers of the Curtiss Falcon plane. But I think I had better recount that episode at some length.

It is the theory that the United States navy never gives "recommendations" for materials supplied it by private munitions firms. But it would be hard to distinguish between the giving of a recommendation and what it does do. Thus, on April 6, 1933, the vice-president and Washington representative of Curtiss-Wright wrote the secretary of the navy that certain South American countries—later developments showed it to be Argentina—were nibbling on Curtiss Falcons, and would the navy please write a letter telling of its experience with them? The request was answered by Captain A. B. Cook, acting chief of the bureau of aeronautics of the navy. Captain Cook took the request all too literally and wrote a detailed reply in which he told just what trouble the navy had had with the Curtiss Falcons—and it was quite a bit of trouble.

Naturally, that wouldn't serve the purpose of the Curtiss-Wright selling campaign. So the Washington man referred the matter to the president of the company, Mr. C. W. Webster, who sent him back a letter in which he instructed him to go back to the navy department, explain the purpose for which the letter was needed, and suggest that the navy department write a new letter, somewhat along this line:

> The secretary of the navy has referred to this office your letter of April 6, and accordingly the following information is furnished:
>
> Curtiss Falcons have been used since 1928 in Nicaragua and China on observation, ground attack, and light bombing missions and in the United States for ground attack and observation training and aerial photography. After a few changes made in the early types, overhaul and maintenance conditions were excellent, many of the planes having flown 700 hours between overhauls.

This proposed letter was a trifle inaccurate, the United States navy never having done any ground attack or light bombing in China with Curtiss Falcons or any other planes. But evidently the Washington representative followed orders and took his superior's letter around to the navy department. And then, not from any mere captain, but from a full-fledged rear admiral, E. J. King, chief of the bureau of aeronautics, there came this letter:

> The secretary of the navy has referred to this office your letter of April 6th, and accordingly the following information is furnished:
>
> Curtiss Falcons have been used since 1928 in Nicaragua and China on observation, ground attack, and light bombing missions, and in the United States for ground attack and observation training and aerial photography. After a few changes in the early types, overhaul and maintenance conditions were excellent, many of the planes having flown 700 hours between overhauls.[11]

As might have been expected, Curtiss-Wright was satisfied with Admiral King's letter, even though it was not a "recommendation"! But on another occasion, the record reveals, Admiral Moffett was forced to try two or three times before he could turn out a letter than was considered satisfactory for a selling campaign in the Dominican republic.[12]

That Curtiss-Wright was not dependent on admirals for all its export sales, however, is shown by testimony that an army major, detailed to serve as a general in Guatemala, acted as its sales agent in that country,[13] and that United States army pilots had been found most helpful in demonstrating planes to prospective buyers.[14]

The Driggs Ordnance & Engineering company is another firm which has no reason to complain of the cooperation which it has received from the United States army and navy in selling abroad. The Driggs company manufactures guns for both branches of the service, and in recent years has manufactured anti-aircraft guns from new designs worked out by army officers. These were supposed to be secret designs, not available for sale abroad. But when the Driggs company actually seemed to have a chance to sell some of these "secret" guns to Turkey, the war department informed the firm that it "would be willing to release to your company the designs of the latest anti-aircraft material, provided you had a contract with a foreign government for a production quantity of anti-aircraft material which you would agree to manufacture in the United States."[15] That would seem plainly to say that the war department will guard United States army secrets jealously—unless there is a chance for an American gun manufacturer to sell a walloping big order to some foreign power!

Equally striking was the cooperation which the Driggs firm received from the navy department in the course of the same campaign. Desiring to demonstrate these anti-aircraft guns to the Turks, the company was actually able to induce the navy department to send the cruiser Raleigh to Constantinople and there use it, on March 28, 1929, as a demonstration proving-ground for the Driggs product![16]

Again, the examination of the Driggs concern revealed the story of the way in which, after an American naval mission had armed Peru with American submarines and other war materials, Colombia secured the "loan" of another American naval officer, Lieutenant Commander James H. Strong, to put her in shape for the conflict which seemed impending over Leticia. Commander Strong naturally advised Colombia to buy American war materials also, and highly recommended the products of the Driggs company. One wonders, however, whether the Colombians knew, until they read the record of the senate hearings, that Commander Strong had worked his recommendations out in consultation with Driggs officials who, as a gesture of good will, carried an account for him in Wall street on which they paid him the profits without his risking a cent![17]

I am tempted, also, to take space to tell of the way in which the officers of the New York Shipbuilding company, bidding for the Brazilian navy building program, were able to put pressure on the navy department to send certain types of ships, built in the New York yards at Camden, to Rio de Janeiro to demonstrate the superiority of that company's products. But the tale is in the record for anyone who wishes to read it, including the indignant report to the state department from Ambassador Hugh Gibson, in Rio, of the way in which the vice-president of the New York firm had tried to bulldoze him into cabling for a cruiser to be sent at once for demonstration purposes. Demonstrations, let it be clearly understood, to increase the profits of this private shipbuilding firm, but paid for by the taxpayers of the United States. The ships were finally sent.[18]

Some mention should be made in this connection, moreover, of the unceasing efforts of the department of commerce to aid the airplane companies in gaining control of the sensationally expanding Chinese market. Under the stimulation of American selling methods, as Mr. Love of the United Aircraft company testified, China had been made not air-minded, but "air fanatical."[19] Not only did the commerce department do what it could

10. Ex. 417, pp. 830, 831.
11. Cf. pp. 842-845.
12. Ex. 440, p. 997.
13. Ex. 415, p. 983.
14. P. 815.
15. Ex. 232, p. 546.
16. Pp. 498-501.
17. Pp. 475-480.
18. Cf. 23, 25, 26 ZO.
19. P. 1449.

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to push the large sales of United and Curtiss planes to the Chinese, but it recruited American military pilots to act as instructors at the training schools established by the Nanking and Canton governments.[20] The China market is now considered the best of the foreign markets for American planes—much to the indignation of the Japanese—and for this development the department of commerce deserves much of the credit, or blame, depending on how you look at it.

In all this abbreviated treatment of a serious issue, I am including not a word of the boasts of lobbyists, retailed to the arms firms employing them, as to their intimacy with army and navy officers and their ability to command the services of those officers. If any illustrations are given of such claims, which stud the record of the committee hearings, it will be when consideration is given to lobbying as a feature of the industry's methods. But there is one minor reflection which I would like to set down, for whatever it may be worth, before closing this section. That is the impression, which the record inexorably forces upon the reader, that this entire industry is staffed with former army and navy officers. Outside of an occasional legatee owner like the du Ponts, or an occasional auditor or treasurer, it is so rare to find an executive or a salesman who is not a major or a colonel or a commander or something of that sort, that to come upon such a civilian gives one a start of surprise. On the face of the record it is no exaggeration to say that the army and navy of the United States have been incubators for the private munitions industry. No wonder they are hand-in-glove with each other!

VI.

The Pursuit of Profits

So generally is it recognized that one of the usual effects of war is to make millionaires of munitions manufacturers that an important phase of the work of the senate committee, directly stimulated by President Roosevelt, has become an effort to formulate legislation designed to "take the profit out of war." Most of that aspect of the committee hearings has fallen in the period following that covered in the present study, and will therefore not receive direct attention in these pages. In fact, only one detailed examination of the war profits of a munitions firm is included in the portion of the record now under review. But it may well be that knowledge of the profits which munitions firms make in times of peace, and of the conditions under which they pursue and protect those profits, may prove as important in determining a national policy for the industry as the profits made in time of war.

The one company examined by the senate committee which has submitted a complete account of its war profits is the E. I. du Pont de Nemours company. The figures are staggering in size, and in the percentage of profit which they reveal. Officers of the du Pont firm admit this, but defend the enormous gains which the company and its stockholders made out of the war—particularly in the days when du Pont was making powder for France and England, before the United States went in—by claiming that there was an equally enormous risk. The plant expansion required, and the vast quantities of raw materials which had to be purchased, represented an investment, according to Mr. Pierre S. du Pont, which would have wiped the concern out had the war ended in 1916, when President Wilson made his greatest attempt to end it:

> If the war had ended we would have been in a bad condition, because I know there was one case in which we owed $100,000,000. We were obligated to return a hundred million dollars to the allies who furnished the money to go ahead with our contract. We had spent that $100,000,000 and about $60,000,000 more in plants and furnishing money for materials, and our company would have gone broke if we had been compelled to return that money.[1]

From the viewpoint of a private corporation, responsible to its stockholders to continue the series of 1½ per cent regular quarterly dividends which had become traditional symbols of the company's stability, there is something to be said for that argument. But the du Ponts certainly did their best to minimize this element of risk. Not only did they require the allies to advance the money by which they financed this expansion of plant and purchase of materials, but they charged them enough for the powder produced—$1 a pound at the beginning, and from that reduced in 1916 to an average of about 53 or 54 cents—so that, by the end of the war, every cent of the cost of new plants, machinery, and so on, had been amortized![2] Governments may not have found it possible to pay their way during the war, but the du Pont company saw to it that the governments with which they did business paid the du Pont's way! Then, the war over, and these amortized plants no longer needed, the company was able to charge them off as losses, so that, despite the gigantic profits, by 1919 the du Pont firm had no income or excess profits taxes to pay.[3] (All of which, incidentally, should be submitted to the careful attention of the people who are today hoping to take the profits out of war by taxing excess profits.)

But we are getting a little ahead of the story. What *were* the du Pont profits during the years of the war? It is difficult to answer that question in any conclusive fashion, for the record of the hearings shows that the du Pont family members who were on the stand and the senators doing the examining frequently failed to agree as to the proper figures or the proper interpretation of such figures as were accepted by both sides. I do not want to be unfair to the du Ponts. They did not deny that their profits, under any set of figures, were enormous. "I am not trying to fight the figures," said Mr. Pierre S. du Pont at one point, "because no matter what the figures are, the profit was very large."[4] But I hardly think it unfair to conclude that the figures and methods of interpretation of balance sheets which the du Pont officers contended for at the hearings were designed to make the profits appear as reasonable as possible.

Accordingly, the figures I am about to use are figures either taken from the du Ponts' own reports to their stockholders or from government returns, supplied by the internal revenue bureau, which were not denied by the du Ponts during the course of the hearings. Confining ourselves to such figures—while remembering that the senate committee and its investigators insist that most of them should really be higher—what do we find? For space reasons, I must be brief.

1. The gross war sales of the du Pont companies from 1915 to 1918 inclusive, according to figures given by Mr. Pierre S. du Pont, were $1,226,000,000.[5]

2. As a basis for comparison, the total net taxable income—that is to say, the profits on which the company was willing to admit it should pay taxes—for the three years preceding the war, was $15,097,000.[6]

3. With the coming of the war, the total net taxable income for 1915-1918 jumped to $248,645,953.[7]

4. Between 1915 and 1918 the gross working capital of the company, as reported in its annual report of 1918, increased from $83,432,000 to $308,846,000, or 270 per cent.[8]

5. During the war years the company paid dividends on its common stock of 100 per cent in 1916; 51 per cent in 1917;

20. Cf. Ex. 557, p. 1556, and many others.

1. P. 1049.
2. P. 1026.
3. P. 1043.
4. P. 1031.
5. P. 1023.
6. P. 1030.
7. P. 1026.
8. P. 1037.

26 per cent in 1918; 18 per cent in 1919 (in which year it reported a loss to the government and paid no taxes).[9]

6. In view of this record it is not surprising to find the company's report for 1918 stating that stock which "sold during the early months of the war at $125 a share" was on December 31, 1918, worth "$593 or an increase in value of 374 per cent." The report continues: "In the meantime (1915-1918) the total dividends . . . have amounted to 458 per cent on the par value of the original stock. It is difficult to imagine a more satisfactory financial result."[10]

7. The profits were in fact so great that, after all dividends and bonuses and all similar deductions had been made and the capital adjusted upwards, the du Pont company still had $50,000,000 to put into the new dye industry which was to be developed from the German patents commandeered as spoils of war, $47,000,000 to buy a 25 per cent stock ownership of General Motors,[11] and was still able to acquire partial or entire control of 26 other corporations, many of them outside the United States,[12] or a total investment in other companies, which today gives the du Pont interests their worldwide ramifications and immense industrial power, of $202,000,000.[13]

8. Finally, in considering these enormous profits, it is enlightening to discover that, in 1916, when the company declared a 100 per cent dividend, the action of the government in imposing a special tax on munitions making which cost the company $13,157,000, so roused the wrath of the du Ponts that they wrote in their annual report for that year: "It is regrettable that the United States government has made our stockholders victims of excessive taxation"![14] They were making 100 per cent that year in dividends, yet they yelled about "excessive taxation." How's that for a picture of big business in munitions?

It must not be thought that du Pont made the only big profits out of the war. Senator Nye summed the revelations up in handy form when he told the senate:

> The year 1916 found the American Brass company with a net income, as related to invested capital, of 51 per cent. The 1917 profit of the Bethlehem Steel company was 43 per cent. Jones & Laughlin in 1917 made a profit of 47 per cent. Atlas Powder company, 27 per cent. Colt's Patent Firearms company, 64 per cent. Midvale Steel & Ordnance company, 43 per cent. Savage Arms corporation, 65 per cent. Western Cartridge company, 35 per cent. Bethlehem Shipbuilding corporation, 40 per cent. Then, in 1919, Bethlehem Shipbuilding corporation made a profit of 63 per cent. New York Shipbuilding company, 49 per cent. Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock company made, in 1917, a paltry return upon its capital investment of 86 per cent! The Bethlehem Loading company—shell-loading—made, in 1918, return upon its investment of 362 per cent.
>
> The average peace-time profit of the United States Steel corporation of $105,000,000 became $239,000,000 during the war. The average annual profit of Bethlehem Steel rose from $6,000,000 to $49,000,000. The profit of Anaconda Copper rose from $10,000,000 to $34,000,000.[15]

Now for four quick snapshots of other armament profits, this time made in time of peace.

American Armaments corporation began operations approximately January 1, 1934, with no cash investment, and on July 31, 1934, at the end of seven months, had a net profit of $161,249, together with approximately $2,000,000 of unfilled orders from Bolivia which it was trying to get through the American embargo.[16]

Records of the Curtiss-Wright company showed that, between 1920 and 1933, on planes sold to the United States army there was a profit of 9.27 per cent; on sales to the navy of 14.83 per cent; but on other sales of only 5.81 per cent. In 1925 engine sales to the navy showed a profit of 31.88 per cent; to the army of 96 per cent. "In 1926 the navy profits were 21 per cent; in 1927 the navy profits were 29 per cent; in 1928 the navy profits were 44 per cent, and the army 31 per cent; in 1929 the navy profit was 30 per cent; and in 1933 the army profit was 18 per cent."[17]

Pratt & Whitney, engine makers for the United Aircraft group, which was formed in 1925 and has been doing such a land-office business in China and Germany, shows the most astounding profits so far brought to light. Three men—Charles W. Deeds, George J. Mead and F. B. Rentschler—formed the company with a total common stock investment of $1,000. During the first eight years of the company's history total dividends of $11,437,250 were paid on this investment, of which $6,400,000 was cash. That means a profit of 1,142,725 per cent![18] In addition Mr. Deeds received during the same period in salaries, bonuses and directors' fees $298,169; Mr. Mead $524,524; and Mr. Rentschler, who was the banker of the trio, $1,559,356.[19]

In building the cruiser Chester in 1927, the New York Shipbuilding company made a profit of $2,946,704, or 36 per cent.[20] In building the cruiser Houston the Newport News company, another member of the "Big Three," made $2,710,726 or 34 per cent, and on the Augusta it made $2,892,648, or 37.2 per cent. Testified Mr. Homer L. Ferguson, president of the latter yard: "Nobody on this committee is more surprised than I was on the profit we made on those ships. We do not figure on receiving 35 per cent on anything, and never have. I think it is rotten business, in addition to not being right."[21] Yet cruiser building estimates from the "Big Three" went up more than a third after that, despite a drop in labor and material costs!

Before we dismiss this question of profits, there has been considerable feeling that the worst of the abuses could be eliminated, or at least lessened, by introducing a "cost plus" system. The Vinson bill, under which the navy is now rushing through its swollen building program, tries to do that, by providing for a strict limitation of the profits of the private shipyards to not more than 10 per cent above costs. How successfully does the theory work? We will let Captain William G. Du Bose, a naval officer who favors the system, begin to supply the answer. On February 21, 1935, Captain Du Bose informed the committee that "there is no possible way for the navy department to do anything else" but leave to the bureau of internal revenue all responsibility for discovering whether inappropriate items slip into the "cost" sheets of yards building for the government under cost-plus contracts.[22] The navy washes its hands of responsibility.

The crucial question, of course, is who determines what are proper costs. On one of the cruisers built by the New York Shipbuilding company it was discovered that costs had included $377,000 for income taxes, $52,918 for Pinkerton and other special agents, $32,000 for "donations," and $17,651 for cigars, wines and liquors. The treasurer of the company defended these as usual charges.[23] The final item in this list, by the way, represented "entertainment" for congressmen invited to go on

9. Pp. 1039, 1040. The figures for 1917 are a little obscure as given in the record on p. 1039. Apparently there are references to dividends totaling 83 per cent in that year, but later remarks make it seem likely that the figure given above is the correct one. These dividends included one of 1 per cent in 1917 and one of 2 per cent in 1918 that stockholders were asked to donate to the Red Cross, and one of 1 per cent in 1918 that they were asked to donate to the war work fund of the Y.M.C.A.
10. P. 1042.
11. P. 1028.
12. P. 1062.
13. P. 1063.
14. P. 1044.
15. Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 1st session, p. 466.
16. Ex. 264, p. 686.
17. P. 834.
18. P. 1419.
19. Ex. 533, p. 1541; ex. 534, p. 1542; ex. 535, p. 1542.
20. 20 QD.
21. 94 ZO.
22. 77 FS.
23. 29 GP.

the ship's trial trip. When it was pointed out that as soon as the cost-plus contract with the navy was signed, salaries of the company's officers (a part of the overhead) also increased from 50 to 100 per cent, the treasurer defended that as having been necessary to keep the company's best men from going to other shipyards.[24]

The truth is that practically every important contract on a cost-plus, or a cost-plus-fixed-fee, basis which the government has made has led to interminable disputes, and many of them to bitter lawsuits. Some of those suits, dealing with contracts made during the war, are still unsettled. In the one which deals with the ships built by the Bethlehem Shipbuilding corporation, a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel company, the government's brief makes charges about that company's bookkeeping methods which sound as though they were directed against some Al Capone. The whole situation was well summarized by the report of revenue agents who checked the cost sheets in 1926 of the battleship Idaho:

> After a very careful study of conditions, viz., the system of bookkeeping and record keeping, the practices of the corporation and so forth, it is the opinion of your examiners that it is an utterly impossible task to attempt to determine correct costs in connection with each contract. It is our unqualified opinion that even a large corps of men working for an indefinite time, could not even approach accuracy.[25]

And Mr. Raushenbush, after pointing out that this failure to arrive at an accurate statement of costs had involved the services of 40 government agents and between 50 and 100 employes of the auditing department of the New York Shipbuilding company, who were on the job all the while the warship was in process of construction, added: "Ten years after it is all over you still are faced with the same disputes about who was gypped and who was not gypped."[26]

VII.

How Does the Industry Work?

BUT if profits, enormous profits, are the stakes for which the private arms industry is playing, by what methods does it go about the winning of those stakes? Of course, the tricks of the trade are innumerable, as the record of the committee hearings amply discloses. But in general it may be said that the industry has depended for its profits on lobbying, secret trade agreements and collusion, freezing out new competition, bribery and the distribution of graft, interlocking agreements and territorial monopolies, holding up the government for higher profits, and using every opportunity to get a slice of public funds. This, plus much super-salesmanship, with the active backing of officers and departments of the United States government, has made the munitions industry the lucrative business it is.

At once it will be pointed out that there is nothing in this list of practices which cannot be matched in the methods resorted to by other lines of business. Given an industry whose profits are directly and largely affected by governmental action and the same devices are almost certain to be employed to "bring home the bacon." After one has read such a book as John T. Flynn's "Graft in Business," one is not likely to argue that point much. It is probably true that, in attempting to deal with the evils of the armaments industry, the senate committee is really face to face with the evils of most industry in a profit-seeking order. In this case, however, these evils are magnified because of the lack of control over the industry's operations in the past. And they are rendered intolerable by the ghastly results of the operations of this particular industry.

It is all very well to talk of the evils of the arms trade as being inherent in the world's present economic system. But these arms firms are not peddling buttons or soda crackers. *They are peddling death!* And those who talk as though nothing of permanent importance could come out of the senate hearings because the nation is not yet ready to change its entire economic system—there are many who today are talking that way—need to be reminded of this fact. After all, society has not waited to eliminate the profit system before dealing with the international narcotic ring.

I could easily fill this entire study with examples of these business methods of the arms industry. Looking over my notes I find that I had picked out 91 specific instances in which the record reveals resort to one or more of those seven practices listed in the opening paragraph of this section. In the space available, I cannot even refer to a tenth of these. What can I do? It seems to me that the only thing I can do is to tell a few of the typical stories uncovered in the inquiry, and then beg the reader to go to the complete record when it becomes available—it will be a public document—and see the appalling way in which the sort of thing here reported has been indulged in again and again and again.

Take this matter of lobbying. All the big munitions firms maintain their Washington lobbyists, and many of their salesmen do a great deal of lobbying in other capitals. High-priced men, some of these lobbyists—and very much opposed to the designation—but evidently felt to be worth the money. Electric Boat company, for example, paid its Washington man more than $37,000 a year from 1928 to 1930 inclusive, while paying its president only $30,000. How does the lobbyist work? In all sorts of ways, but let us look at the services rendered the Bath Iron works by Mr. A. P. Homer, a gentleman who was once identified in the give-and-take of the hearings as "the fellow who thought he was going to be secretary of the navy." Some of Mr. Homer's activities were the cause for recriminations and hot denials before the senate committee, but I will ignore the charges made against Mr. Homer by others and stick to what Mr. Homer says about himself. These statements are taken from a memorandum submitted by Mr. Homer to his lawyer when suit was planned to force the Bath works to pay Mr. Homer's price for the "services" which he had rendered in obtaining government contracts.

Mr. Homer undertook to get the Bath Iron works a contract to build some of the destroyers which were to be provided out of the $238,000,000 PWA funds allocated to navy building in 1933. First, he arranged a luncheon in Washington at which were present Mr. Newell, president of the Bath works, Admiral C. J. Peoples, this year appointed a PWA administrator, and himself.

> Having the seriousness of the unemployment situation in mind, I made the suggestion at luncheon that telegrams be sent to the President by people in the state of Maine, so that the President might be advised of the seriousness of the labor situation in the city of Bath. These gentlemen agreed that this was a good idea, and I prepared draft telegrams which were then telephoned to Bath and relayed to business men, state, city and labor officials, who in turn wired their appeal for work to the President.[1]

The next step was to arrange with one of the President's secretaries to have those particular telegrams picked out of the White House heap the next morning and placed on the President's breakfast tray. Out of this maneuver, Mr. Homer claimed, came the presidential approval for the $238,000,000 allotment from PWA funds for naval building—and Bath Iron works' chance to get its share of that sum. Unfortunately the Bath bid, when it reached the navy department, was held to be defective by the judge advocate general of the navy, and thrown out. Mr. Homer's own version continues:

> July 27, 1933: Mr. Homer called Admiral C. J. Peoples, paymaster-general of the navy, who is the President's closest

24. 30 GP.
25. 47 GP.
26. 46 GP.

1. 2 FS.

friend in the navy department, to luncheon, and they conferred with him as to the best method to be followed in overcoming this awkward situation.[2]

Overcome it was, the bid reinstated, and Mr. Homer then claimed to have made the arrangements by which three yards—Bath, Federal (owned by U. S. Steel) and United—split evenly the contracts for the six 1500-ton destroyers. But then another difficulty arose: Bath could not make the necessary bond. And Mr. Homer thereupon capped the record of his services to Bath by inducing the navy department to hold the matter open from August 3 until September 22, when the Bath works finally made bond. Mr. La Rouche, one of the committee's investigators who introduced Mr. Homer's memorandum into the record, testified:

> Mr. Homer told me that never before in the history of the navy, that he knew of, had a bond been held up so long, or had a contract been held up so long for lack of a bond and then the contract awarded. He said that as far as he knew that had never happened before but that he had been able to do it.[3]

Charges of collusive bidding dot the record. These are indignantly denied by the munitions firms, because such bids on government work are illegal, although an outsider may, in reading the record, find himself wondering whether this isn't very nearly the sort of "planned economy" the NRA was supposed to foster. That is to say, the effort of the shipyards appears to have been to balance productive capacity and available work, seeing that there was an even split of the navy appropriations all around. But never mind that; collusion is denied. When bids for cruisers to be built by the "Big Three" went up together, despite falling costs of materials and labor, it is insisted that there was no collusion; when it was discovered that the shipyards had voluminous preparatory data for their bids on the ship contracts they got and only the sketchiest of data for bids on the ships they didn't get, it was still insisted that there was no collusion.

But Mr. Charles L. Bardo, formerly president of the New York yards and now president of the National association of manufacturers, who refused to sign an immunity waiver when it came to testifying on this collusion matter, found himself in a tight corner when confronted with this telegram which he had sent to Secretary Mellon:

> On April 5 we submitted bid for two scout cruisers out of six to be constructed. The understanding was that this construction would be done by three remaining private yards. Acting in good faith and on this assumption we expended large sums of money in preparation for this work.[4]

Mr. Bardo had to admit, under questioning by Senators Vandenberg and Clark, that "understanding" was an "unfortunate use of language." Then the record reads:

> Senator Clark. You certainly must have known with whom the understanding was or you would not have spent the money.
>
> Mr. Bardo. I want to make sure it was not with the navy department on the Cramp cruiser.
>
> Senator Clark. With whom was it?
>
> Mr. Bardo. I cannot say whom it was with.
>
> Senator Clark. You were not in the habit of spending large sums of money on understandings when you did not know with whom the understanding was, were you?
>
> Mr. Bardo. I will grant that is true, senator.

And a few moments after that:

> Senator Clark. Mr. Bardo, how did you happen to send this telegram to the secretary of the treasury instead of the secretary of the navy?
>
> Mr. Bardo. I think largely on the fact that he was a member of the cabinet and would probably have some influence and might be helpful.
>
> Senator Clark. Since he had formerly owned control of the New York Shipbuilding company, and was still also retaining bonds in it, did that have anything to do with your applying to him?
>
> Mr. Bardo. No, I do not think that was the answer.

How about the use of political influence to freeze out competition? Well, here is another story. In the summer of 1933, after it became apparent that the Roosevelt administration was going to support a large expansion of the navy, there was much maneuvering to rehabilitate old shipyards with a view to bidding on prospective naval contracts. Mr. Lawrence Wilder, former president of the New York Shipbuilding company, and apparently one of the "go-getting" type of munitions men who knows all about how other shoestrings have been run into armament fortunes, became interested in the rehabilitation of such a yard in Pensacola, Florida, under the name of Gulf Industries. Mr. Wilder and his associates had their plant, present and prospective, inspected by naval authorities who reported that, if the improvements contemplated were made, there was no technical reason why the Pensacola yard should not be able to build ships fully up to naval requirements. To secure the necessary funds to rehabilitate their plant, the officers of Gulf Industries accordingly applied for an RFC loan of $30,000,000.

But the "Big Three" had no intention of seeing a new competitor enter the race for the cruiser contracts so soon to be awarded. So Mr. Bardo, as president of the New York yards, took the matter up with Governor (now Senator) A. Harry Moore of New Jersey. At the same time Mr. N. R. Parker, treasurer of the same company, put pressure on his acquaintance, Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. Both men are powers in democratic party circles, Mr. Hague in particular being regarded as one of the two or three politicians who stand closest to the chairman of the democratic national committee, Postmaster General James A. Farley. In both cases the claim was made that if naval building contracts were allowed to go to a Florida yard, it would take jobs away from citizens of New Jersey. The yards of the New York company are located in Camden, New Jersey.

What happened? On June 30, 1933, Governor Moore assured Mr. Bardo: "I have taken the matter up directly with Mr. Farley. If there is anything further I can do, let me know." But this did not satisfy Mr. Bardo. On July 5 he replied to the governor, insisting that the matter must be carried directly to President Roosevelt: "Your letter to Mr. Farley may reach the President, but I am very much of the opinion that any cooperative support which may directly reach the President on the subject will have weight, particularly from your own good self."

Whether or not Governor Moore or Postmaster General Farley carried the matter personally to the President the record does not reveal. But on July 15 Governor Moore received this:

> My dear Governor: Thank you for your letter of July 7th. I appreciate your writing me about the matter but we have no intention of acquiring shipyards.
>
> Very sincerely yours,
> Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This letter Mr. Bardo sent to the directors of his own company, and to the other members of the "Big Three" as proof that Gulf Industries had been blocked from the hope of obtaining its desired RFC loan. The event proved him right.[5] Gulf Industries did not get its loan.

When it comes to bribery, the record shows that all witnesses agreed that bribery is a necessity in the munitions business, except Mr. F. H. Love of United Aircraft. Yet even Mr. Love's files revealed instructions to salesmen to make no reference to "extraordinary sales expenses" in "official correspondence," as the company took "no official cognizance" of

2. 12 FS.
3. 35 AS.
4. 76 GP, and so for the rest of the episode.
5. Cf. 15-17 ZO.

them.[6] As for the other witnesses, their attitude was well expressed by Mr. John Ball, of the Soley Armament company of England, who wrote: "We fully understand that arms deals are not usually done without some officials getting 'greased,' but if any palm oil is required it has to be added to the price." To which Mr. Miranda, of the American Armaments corporation, replied: "Your remarks anent greasing the wheels that make the deals go around are very true, and we fully appreciate that very often oil must be added to your quotations."[7]

Lest the use of the foregoing illustration mislead any reader into thinking that the impulse to sell armament by means of bribery has come only from a reprehensible British source and was put over on a naive American concern, I hasten to balance it with a case in which the nationalities were exactly reversed. In this instance, in 1927, it was an American firm, the Electric Boat company, which was passing on a deal to its English partner, which was then known as Vickers, Limited, and is now Vickers-Armstrong. This was the case in which Electric Boat, not wishing Chile to know that it was building submarines for Peru—at that time the source of the anxiety which was pushing Chile into the market of prospective submarine buyers—passed the opportunity to bid along to what was supposed to be its British rival, with which, however, it actually had a contract for a 50 per cent cut on any profits which might accrue. Along with the opportunity to bid, Mr. Spear, of the Electric Boat company, was thoughtful enough to send Commander C. W. Craven, managing director of Vickers, a letter of advice as to how to handle such a piece of prospective business. Let me quote a little of that letter—this time the letter of an American giving advice on how to sell armament to a Briton:

> This is an appropriate time for me to tell you that none of us here have ever met our Chilean representative and consequently we cannot in any way vouch for his reliability. We all know, however, that the real foundation of all South American business is graft, and it may very well be that he knows the proper people to pay in Santiago. At any rate, I am passing the thing along to you for such action as you may think it proper to take, having in view your own separate negotiations. . . .
>
> Please cable me your decision and action so that I can advise Santiago. In conclusion, I would like to add a little and perhaps superfluous advice which is that I would not be too modest about the price and would cover into it a substantial amount in excess of the 10 per cent above referred to, my own experience being that at the last minute something extra is always needed to grease the ways.[7A]

I find that my notes refer to cases of graft or bribery reported as a selling method used by American arms firms in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, France, Greece, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, Poland, San Salvador, Turkey, the United States and Venezuela. And that is to say nothing of the large payments to certain persons for unidentified services, as in the case of the $766,000 sent to Sir Basil Zaharoff by the Electric Boat company, in addition to the $1,360,000 income from the United States for which that mysterious Greek arms salesman sought tax exemption in 1917.[8] Or the payment by the same company of $176,000 to Captain Paul Koster, former Dutch naval officer, between 1919 and 1931, although it was admitted that, as a salesman, he never sent in an order.[9]

On the matter of the interlocking agreements which exist between firms like the Electric Boat company and Vickers, or du Pont and Imperial Chemicals, providing for sharing profits, trade secrets, or territory, or within the American trade in such selling arrangements as bind Curtiss-Wright and Remington Arms together, perhaps enough examples have already been given in the preceding pages to suggest the condition of affairs. In a nutshell, the situation has become such that even when firms seem to be competing with each other they are frequently discovered to have agreements by which the profits are divided, no matter who gets the contracts.

Perhaps the record contains no more ironic chapter than that in which the Electric Boat company, after having made one of these interlocking licensing agreements with the Whitehead company of Austria shortly before the war, tried to collect royalties from Germany after the war for the patents which had been appropriated from the Austrians to build U-boats which were then used to sink American ships and kill American soldiers and citizens. The American firm sued for $17,000,000. It actually recovered $125,000. But none of this, so far as testified, was passed along to the families of any of the Americans killed by use of the American patents.[10]

Munitions makers are loud in their professed patriotism. Yet there are numbers of incidents in the record of these hearings which suggest that, if the time comes when the interests of the nation and of the munitions firms' profits conflict, the issue has a way of being settled on the side of the profits. In the story of the shipyards, for instance, there is the testimony of Mr. Lawrence Wilder, former president of the New York yard, that submarines built by the Electric Boat company in 1924 were "accepted and paid for and immediately decommissioned as unseaworthy, with the statement of the admiral that they were more dangerous to the crew than to the enemy."[11] There is the letter from Mr. Ralph M. Ketcham, attorney for the New York yard, to representatives of the Newport News and Bethlehem yards, that a new contract had been worked out for cruisers with the navy department under which "the department will have no right to reject the vessels."[12] And there is the letter written by Mr. F. P. Palen, vice-president of the Newport News company, to two other shipyard executives when, in 1929, it seemed possible that a naval building bill would stipulate construction in government yards, where costs have uniformly been about a third lower. Despite the shipbuilders' professed belief in the nation's reliance on a big navy, when it looked as though the ships might not be built in private yards Mr. Palen wrote: "I think it will be better for the government and for the shipbuilding industry to kill the navy bill entirely rather than use it for building up further government competition with the shipbuilding industry."[13]

But the most revealing incident of this sort concerned the building of the Old Hickory powder plant by the du Pont company for the government after the United States entered the war. The record is so voluminous that I will repeat Senator Nye's own summary:

> I have yet to find the doughboy who, when his government asked him to get into a uniform and give his service during the war, stopped to quibble for even a minute as to what his pay was going to be. But when the government wanted a powder plant built during the war they made their request for the building of that plant of the du Ponts, who, they assumed, knew something about powder plants and the manufacture of powder. It was known that government money would be utilized in building this Old Hickory powder plant. They asked the du Ponts to undertake its construction and its operation when completed.
>
> For more than three long months, in the very midst of the war, the du Ponts quibbled with the government, with the war department, with the secretary of war, with the war industries

6. Ex. 544, p. 1549.
7. Ex. 258, p. 675; ex. 262, p. 684. It is a cause for regret that I cannot quote more of the exceedingly stimulating correspondence of Mr. Ball. "'Incendiary' bullets are prohibited, so they have become 'tracers.' What is in a name?" His letters are full of that sort of thing.
7A. Ex. 68, p. 119.
8. Ex. 17, p. 329; ex. 24, p. 37.
9. Ex. 9, p. 312.
10. Pp. 15-17.
11. 21 AS.
12. 9 ZO. The importance of this is suggested by the experience of the yards with the six cruisers of the 1926 class—delivered in 1930—which all cracked their sternposts because of faulty design within the six months' try-out period, necessitating enormously expensive repairs which had to be paid for by the builders.
13. 29 FS.

board. For more than three months they denied response to the request that the government had made of them. We have had access to the minutes of the du Pont board of directors in that period. We have had access to the minutes and to the notations of record with the war industries board and with the secretary of war. You cannot read those without knowing what it was that was occasioning the delay.

Here, for example, is a memorandum concerning a special meeting of the war industries board, a memorandum signed by the secretary of that board. I read from it:

The secretary of war informed the board that the du Pont company had refused—

Remember, this was when we were in the midst of war—

had refused to undertake the building of the proposed powder plant on any other terms than those contained in their last proposition.

After our committee had battled all day trying to develop the facts in connection with this Old Hickory controversy, the committee turned to Colonel Harris, who was on the stand at the time, representative and spokesman for the war department, not a foe of the private manufacturer of munitions at all, and asked:

Colonel Harris, was there a more critical period during the world war than this particular period in the controversy?

Colonel Harris said it would be hard to declare what was the most critical hour, but he did not think there was any more critical hour than this. The committee asked further:

To what one thing, Colonel Harris, do you attribute the delay of the du Ponts in meeting the request of their government during the war?

Colonel Harris said it was a difference of opinion as between the government and the du Pont company as to what the du Pont margin of profit should be for constructing that plant, and for operating the plant for the government after it was constructed.[14]

When it comes to the eagerness with which the industry pursues the chance of public subventions, it is hardly necessary to call up the past. At this hour the shipbuilding companies are cashing in on the $238,000,000 of the original PWA funds obtained on the plea that they would greatly increase employment in shipyards. Figures submitted by the American federation of labor showed total employment at the yards on June 30, 1933, to have been 30,224; on December 31, 1934, to have been 37,294.[15] While these were challenged as too low—without submitting other definite figures in rebuttal—Secretary Harold L. Ickes, PWA administrator, testified that many other lines of activity had produced more employment more quickly.[16] Mr. Ickes was very restrained in his testimony, but it took no great amount of reading between the lines to see that he regarded the plea that naval expansion would help solve the unemployment problem as simply a blind for another big navy drive on the treasury.

As a conclusion to this study of the methods of the industry, and as a swift way of indicating how much more ground the senate investigation has covered than it has been possible to indicate here, let me reproduce a list of more than fifty findings already made by the senate committee, again in the words of the committee's indefatigable chairman, Senator Nye:

1. The investigation has revealed, of course, the giant fortunes carved by men and corporations out of war while millions died.

2. The interest which prompts the munitions makers and salesmen to prolong strife and struggle which creates a market for their wares.

3. The will to sell to both sides in a conflict, sometimes in the name and on the excuse of neutrality.

4. An amazing number of colonels, majors, admirals—men formerly in the regular military service of their country—now in the service of the munitions industry. One wonders if this serves as an example to others in the service to aspire to favor of the industry upon their retirement from service.

5. The investigation reveals American munition interests smuggling their supplies into countries in spite of embargoes.

6. That participation by our government in international conferences does not necessarily imply that there need be or always is unanimity of action on the part of all departments of that government.

7. That officers of our army, notably the chief of staff, are alleged by the munitions people to engage in recommending American munitions in other lands where they may visit, and that they recommend improved organization and greater efficiency in foreign armies.

8. That the industry of armament making pulls the political strings to accomplish the selection of their choices into the consular service.

9. That commissions are paid to foreign hands for the sale of American munitions abroad; that fortunes were paid to Sir Basil Zaharoff by American industry for his sales of American munitions of war.

10. That the American industry helped Zaharoff to escape payment of income taxes in the United States.

11. That the munitions maker looks upon peace times as "lean times."

12. That Mr. Taylor, du Pont's European representative, considers that conscription of wealth and industry retards munitions production by six months.

13. That the du Ponts would sell more cheaply to other lands than to their own country if secrecy could be certain.

14. That the munitions industry when agreeing to codes of fair trade and competition makes them apply to the domestic field alone, not to their fields of foreign trade.

15. The study of your committee has shown that one member of the war industries board signed for the government contracts totaling more than $49,000,000 with the du Pont corporation, in which he was a stockholder.

16. That existing plans for industry's part in another war leaves the chance to repeat the profit taking of other days, and that industry would be in its accustomed position of dictating prices and terms to the government.

17. That at least one armament maker in America was so certain of the coming world war that they gambled to the extent of millions in providing all the capacity they needed during the war, and did this as much as five years before the war came.

18. That the British and American submarine trusts ganged up on the South American countries, corrupting their officials, fixing prices together, and paying speakers to scare the various nations of the south into a naval race.

19. That the American and British munitions people would not let Argentina build a powder factory so it could be independent of them; that they ganged together to make that factory so costly that it could not be built.

20. That in Chile the Germans helped the British and American munitions people by putting in a dummy bid on a powder factory.

21. That it did not matter to our submarine trust if the submarines which they bribed and scared the South American people into buying were built in Europe or elsewhere, that even American naval mission officers approved orders for submarines to be built in Europe.

22. That the practice of bribery by munitions people creates a class of governmental officials who profit by leaving the munitions business uncontrolled in every respect.

23. That both British and American munitions people sneer at the efforts of foreign offices and state departments to secure disarmament.

24. That one manufacturer of gas was working with the administration of Cuba and two opposing groups at the same time. In such circumstances how can there be peace in Cuba or anywhere else in the world?

25. That the investigation has established both American gas companies trade on their official sounding names and their boasted United States government services in an attempt to sell their wares.

26. That one American gas company used convicts in a South American country as experimental victims of its gases; (Chile).

27. That aircraft companies live by governmental orders.

28. That the sale of military planes to China and the training of military pilots there by Americans has given aid to one faction in China and created a market for American planes.

29. That the airplane companies are the biggest sellers of machine guns in the country.

30. That during the last war, our biggest machine-gun com-

14. Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 1st session, pp. 460, 461.
15. 96 GP.
16. 85 FS.

pany (Colts) tried to lower its taxes by claiming that it had been active all over the world before the war and knew the war was coming and prepared for it.

31. That the munitions people have a reporting service which keeps them informed of the causes leading to wars far more adequately than the people at large, or even governments at times, are informed.

32. That the war department has no figures showing the cost of supplying a purely defensive army with munitions.

33. That the munitions makers of Britain, France, and America managed to get around the Chinese embargo without too much difficulty.

34. That the financial and sales interconnections of many of the foreign munitions makers are so close that an embargo imposed by only a few nations does not hurt them—they can have their allied companies supply orders; that it was in this way that the du Ponts got around the Chaco embargo.

35. That the munitions makers opposed embargoes by all countries as well as embargoes by the United States alone, and asked the help of the war and navy departments in their opposition.

36. Because of the limited investigation already made we know that an American munitions company placed men in London and Paris to send back to America scare stories about gas warfare from these two countries in order to frighten the American people into an acceptance of gas warfare as a national policy.

37. That government appointees to the disarmament convention of 1922 were recommended and approved beforehand by the chemical industries interested in gas warfare.

38. That the munitions companies, through friendly officers in the war department were informed about the selection of delegates to the Geneva conference of 1925 for a month and a half before the American people were informed about them.

39. That representatives of the war department have described plans for the next war which amount to turning over the country to the business interests.

40. That the spirit of the munitions industry is, "This is our country, not the country of congress," as one du Pont man wrote.

41. That law and policy fix frightful inequality between human life and property in war—an inequality as respects the compulsion of response to government and as respects pay of service. Property won tremendous profits while men and boys fought and died for their country at a dollar a day.

42. That a high official in the industry took credit to himself for the elevation of members of congress to high committee posts.

43. That at least one large munitions company claimed success in securing war and navy department support for its fight against a proposed embargo.

44. That the munitions people have a very close connection with our war and navy departments.

45. That the war department plans of today call for an army of up to 4,000,000, and its calculations for the costs of another war, costs which run into the billions, are based on the necessity of sending huge forces overseas.

46. That the last war was a record of our government yielding to the great industrial interests and munitions people at many points.

The committee has had testimony revealing—

47. That the greatest experiment in arms control in the world—the attempt to keep Germany and Austria unarmed—was thwarted first because of the influence of the British munitions makers with the British government on one hand and with the German explosives companies on the other hand.

48. That after the habit of breaking the treaty was established the American and British airplane manufacturers furnished Germany with from one-third to one-half of her air force of 2,400 planes. The foreign offices and state departments of the world allowed these exports to Germany and share with the munitions people the responsibility for the menace over Europe at present.

49. That the treaty for the control of the arms traffic in 1925 was weakened by the efforts of American and European munitions makers.

50. That there is a great interwoven net of American, British and European explosive and chemical companies. A large number of them unite in sales and price agreements and have strong governmental connections.[17]

17. Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 1st session, pp. 467, 468.

VIII.

The Future of the Munitions Industry

UNDER the limitations imposed by space upon this study, a great many phases of the arms industry, some of which may prove in time to have been among the most important, have had to be passed by. I regret most of all that I have not been able to write at length of what the inquiry shows regarding the relation of this industry to labor. I trust, however, that thoughtful members of labor unions will make a careful study of the record with this in mind. If they do, they are likely to be shocked at what they discover.

For many years there has been a decided tendency on the part of organized labor in the United States to support the demands of the armament firms. This has been particularly true with regard to the shipbuilding companies, the theory being, apparently, that the larger the government's appropriations for the army and navy, the more work for organized labor in shipyards and ordnance plants. The senate inquiry, however, clearly proves that the private munitions industry in practically every detail is an open shop industry; that one of the reasons the private shipyards fight the government yards so bitterly is because the government yards employ union labor; that much of the industry is notoriously low wage (except in salaries and bonuses to executives); and that one of the most rapidly growing branches of the industry—gas and bomb manufacturing—is being deliberately developed as a means of coercing labor. It is beyond belief that any labor man could read the record of Part 7 and Part 8 of these hearings—the examination of Federal Laboratories and U. S. Ordnance Engineers—and be willing to allow such parts of the industry to remain under private control another year.[1]

But if organized labor has cause to feel alarm over a continuation of the munitions industry as at present constituted, it has been one of the surprises of the inquiry to discover the extent to which the munitions makers themselves are disquieted over the conditions of their business. Not all of them; the du Ponts, for instance, gave no such sign. And Mr. Carse, the submarine builder, could not understand why he should be criticized for trying to sell submarines to Peru, Colombia and other nations when the government is doing all it can to encourage foreign trade.[2] But if you read through this testimony carefully you find here another submarine builder admitting that another great war will end civilization;[3] and here an armament company president admitting that armament races bring war;[4] and here an airplane export executive confessing that he is opposed to the stimulation of munitions sales by naval and air missions, "but it is one of those things which seems to be unavoidable."[5] And here you have a puzzled gun manufacturer asking the committee how they would draw the line between national defense and mass murder.[6] And here is a general agent for a gas and bomb company, with all South America as his territory, summing the whole thing up in these words: "This business is a shady business all the way through."[7]

That is not to say, of course, that all these munitions men have had the attack of conscience which Mr. Jonas, who knew it was "one hell of a business," was so anxious to ward off, and that they are down at the mourner's bench seeking pardon.

1. A piece of testimony which threw light in many directions was that given by Mr. Philip W. Chappell, United States labor conciliator, who, in telling of efforts to settle a strike at the New York Shipbuilding yards, said one principal cause of the trouble was that wages were lower than in nearby yards not working on government contracts and that workers, knowing that the cruisers on which they were working were being built with PWA funds, were angry because they received only 60 to 65 cents per hour while CWA workers, employed at or near the plant, were getting from $1 to $1.25. (Cf. 41, 42 ZO.)
2. Cf. p. 104.
3. P. 142.
4. Pp. 646, 647.
5. P. 1457.
6. P. 517.
7. P. 2001.

Nothing like that. But it does mean that they are not fully comfortable in their own minds about the business in which they find themselves. They may be making money, but they are not very proud of the way in which they are making it. They seem to have, in many instances, a sense of being trapped. They are in something they would like to get out of, but they don't see the way out. And after all, if they got out, what good would it do? Others would jump at the chance to leap in and reap the profits.

Perhaps Mr. Eugene R. Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel, for all his 1918 bonus of $1,386,193, put the perplexities which beset the minds of the munitions makers as graphically as any of them when he said to the committee: "When you talk of profits and the necessities to prosecute a war, you must not narrow it down to just the words 'guns' and 'battleships,' but it is everything produced. . . . *It is the whole social structure that is involved.*"[8] I trust that Mr. Grace, if he should see this, will not mind my italicizing that sentence. For it will seem to many, after reading his testimony and the testimony of all the others who have appeared before the senate committee, that, to an extent far greater and deeper than Mr. Grace may have had in mind when he used the words, it *is* "the whole social structure that is involved."

8. 7 QD.

WITH the inquiry incomplete, it is still too early to announce final conclusions. Thoughtful citizens will be especially anxious to see what new light may be thrown on this problem of arms control by the examination of the banking interests which have operated behind the scenes. These aspects, and others of great importance, have still to be developed, and will be treated in a further study which I hope to make after the hearings are concluded.

Meanwhile, however, I am sure that the record already compiled is sufficient to persuade most Americans that in some way this traffic in the merchandise of destruction must be brought under such public control as will free it from the stimulation of the quest for private profit. When it is time to determine what form this control shall take, the evidence already gathered will prove invaluable in showing what are the present conditions, tendencies and evils which must be wiped out. The senate committee of inquiry is doing a magnificent public service in compiling this evidence. It must be supported in carrying that service through to the finish.

BOOKS

Nazi and Anti-Nazi Theologies

RELIGION AND REVOLUTION. *By Adolf Keller. Fleming H. Revell Company, $2.00.*

ANY BOOK by Dr. Adolf Keller deserves respectful attention because of the position of leadership which he occupies in European Protestantism and the high esteem in which he is held by his wide circle of acquaintance in America. This volume contains lectures which were delivered at Princeton theological seminary. The purpose is to describe the more important currents of theological thought in Germany at the present time, to set them against their background of reformation theology and the various types of liberalism and reaction in the nineteenth century and the "neo-Lutheranism and neo-Calvinism" of the years just before the war, and to indicate the relation of all this and of the present movements within the German church to the nazi revolution.

In the author's view, the struggle in Germany is essentially a religious event. "The German revolution has awakened not only the political instincts and deep metaphysical dreams of a great nation, but also the religious passions which were thought to have been buried long ago. It is a revolution with a theology." Perhaps so. But what is it? Is it Rosenberg's? Or Hossenfelder's? Anti-Semitism is not a theology but a mania, grasping for any theological or anthropological or economic justification it can find. The thing came first; the theories afterward. So it seems with the revolution. But perhaps this only illustrates the author's statement that "for the American public such a close connection of theological and political considerations is hardly understandable. It is foreign to all recent American tradition." But it is not foreign to American tradition to observe nations or parties—their own or others—deciding what policies they want to adopt in pursuit of some concrete advantage, and then constructing a theory in justification of it. Thus we decided on a policy of expansion for political and economic gain, after the Spanish-American war, and promptly developed what might almost be called a theology of imperialism to rationalize it. Looked at from across the sea, it appears that Hitler and his colleagues have done much the same thing. The American mind will not easily be convinced that the political struggle in Germany is essentially a theological debate, or that the substitution of a "philosophy of existence" for a broken-down "humanistic philosophy of consciousness or cognition" has much to do with it.

But as a study of the influence of the revolution on theology —if not of the influence of theology on the revolution—Dr. Keller's lectures will be read with interest and will give some measure of enlightenment. For the most part, and perhaps wisely in so brief a treatise, he confines himself to exposition of the several theologies that he passes under review, without attempting the critical evaluation of them. But he reverts again and again to Karl Barth in a tone of respect which gives ground for the assumption that his is considered the most valuable voice in the chorus of not entirely harmonious theologies. Liberalism, one gathers, is deemed bankrupt because it did not prevent the war, and did not pick up and put together the pieces after the war, and because it has so many variant expressions. The alternatives to it are certainly no less numerous, and it does not yet appear that they have much to their credit in the way of restoring peace and justice. But this is true, as the author says near the end: "The church still leads in the struggle for liberty." Every other form of organization in Germany has been fully assimilated into the totalitarian state. The church alone—or a large element of it—has refused to burn incense to Cæsar.

W. E. GARRISON.

Preaching in the Grand Style

THE CHURCH AND CIVILIZATION. *By Lynn Harold Hough. Round Table Press, $2.00.*

MAGNIFICENT sermons are preached by Lynn Harold Hough—the kind which ought to be preached on state occasions. They have the quality of statesmanship and the beauty of art. They are rich in history and literature, and give evidence of a preacher who has been about the world and has met men and movements. They are the sermons of an artist who paints with a skilled hand and leaves no ugly imperfec-

tions. In them the church is the mother of civilization, noble and triumphant. They make one glad that one is a Christian.

The preacher is fully aware of the dilemmas which imperil religion today and of the tensions between the church and the world, but they do not seem to be his tensions and dilemmas. His preaching is somewhat detached from the struggle of humanity. Sometimes he is the spectator, the kindly critic, rather than the man in Gethsemane. One suspects that the triumph of the church is too easy, and the hope too uncritical to meet the realism of today. One wishes at times for more of the rugged quality, the emotion which can be expressed only in broken sentences and staccato style. Dr. Hough's preaching is in the style of Deuteronomy rather than of Jeremiah. He makes us move through lofty cathedrals where we gaze at rose windows and listen to the sound of organs and choirs as the voice of many waters.

The author is at his best in "The Book for Such an Age as This," written for a brochure of the American Bible society and already familiar to many readers. He comes nearest to the heart of Christianity in his sermon on "The Homeless Universe." The title sermon was preached last year in the Cathedral of St. Pierre in Geneva before the assembly of the League of Nations. This is not the strongest sermon in the book. The one on "What Is Religion?" deserves more than one reading for its penetrating insight into the nature of religion as "the principle which gives moral and spiritual unity to experience." "Preparing a Missionary Sermon Today" will cure any preacher of slovenly methods in dealing with this critical subject. "A Clan of Gallant Gentlemen" has a lilting quality that might be sung as well as preached. And why not a sermon on "Laughter"? A few of the sermons are little more than sketches of various subjects, full of interesting material but not the peers of those already mentioned. In all there are fifteen sermons, closing with "The Glory of the Christian Religion," which might have been chosen as the title for the volume. Many readers will be glad to add this to the other twenty-nine volumes by Dr. Hough and to thank him for new hope and courage in an age in which neither is easy.

CHARLES GERLINGER.

Books in Brief

LUTHER'S GERMAN BIBLE, AN HISTORICAL PRESENTATION TOGETHER WITH A COLLECTION OF SOURCES. *By M. Reu. Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio, $4.00.*

Professor Reu is probably the foremost living authority on Luther's work as a translator of the Bible. In this work he gives an erudite study of Luther as a translator and of the successive editions of his Bible. To the discussion itself are added two hundred pages of notes, source materials and selections from the text of Luther's translation and earlier German versions. The work stands alone as an authority in English on this subject.

HORNETS' NEST. *By Helen Ashton. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

It all began with Mrs. Morland's appendix. Sir Robert, an old man at the end of his professional career, had removed it. But the young doctor who had come down from London and had given the anesthetic stirred up a hornets' nest when he pushed through another operation. The little town of Stoneminster is the kind that knows everything that's going on. The tongues wag. Doctors and nurses, and their families, are all involved because of the incident—and the gossip of the town hurries events along. It is one of these modern stories that center around one event that serves as plot movement and brings out a host of characters. For its detailing of the lives of doctors and nurses the book is valuable. The description of an operation is truly informing to those who have never been on the operating table. But the story is the thing. It is the kind of book that keeps you wondering what is going to happen. You won't give up reading till you know.

SANDRIK. *By Olga Tchirikova. Dodd Mead & Company, $2.00.*

Sandrik, or Alexander Tchirikoff, a child of the deposed Russian nobility, was born in exile on the island of Lemnos. This story, written by his mother, is an account of the sufferings of the refugee family and their struggle for economic and spiritual rehabilitation in the Russian colony at Menton. It is addressed directly to the boy and was intended for him alone, but Grand Duke Alexander, the child's godfather, persuaded the author to give it to the world. It is a tale of a high-spirited, valiant young mother for whom life has no blind alleys.

A MIND THAT FOUND ITSELF, AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *By Clifford Whittingham Beers. 25th anniversary edition. Doubleday, Doran & Company, $2.50.*

The mental hygiene movement, which has resulted in a revolution in the treatment of mental disorders, is in large part a result of the publication of this book and the intelligent and determined efforts of Mr. Beers to remedy the conditions of which he was for a time the victim. A mental breakdown beginning in college and reaching its climax a few years after graduation led to insanity and confinement in both private and public institutions. These experiences remembered after the return of reason form the substance of one of the most remarkable autobiographies ever written.

ABOUT PEOPLE. *By Herbert Gray. Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.75.*

In the hurry of a minister's organizational business he is apt to neglect that very important side of his work, the healing of souls. Here a man who has dealt with people for many years generalizes on what it is that ails many souls. He talks of dominated people, fugitives from life, fearful people, inferior people and deluded people. There are some interesting chapters on sexual difficulties as they come to a minister. This is a revealing book but readers are waiting for the minister, or teacher, who will list some definite clinical cases; for an understanding of men and their problems that would be the best approach for ministers, teachers and parents.

TREES. *By Margaret Whittemore and Edna Becker. Bruce Humphries, Inc., Boston, $2.00.*

There have been thousands of poems written about trees, contests are conducted for the best poem on trees, and the poets —like all human beings—have felt the inspiration of the growing trees. But Edna Becker, the poet, has made the old box elder in your backyard and the tree with its root in prairie soil dearer to the one that beholds it. The charm of this book is due to the woodcuts and linoleum blocks which, full-page, illustrate each poem. Yet it is not certain in the mind of the reader whether the poem illustrates the picture or the picture the poem. Those who like to possess beautiful books will enjoy this one. Bruce Humphries has made here an item for collectors.

THE WAY OF SIMPLICITY. *By W. E. Orchard. E. P. Dutton & Company, $2.00.*

There is much beautiful and winning piety in Dr. Orchard's presentation of the simple ways of faith and service. The mood which it is intended to induce is not only that of humbly and sincerely seeking the undying truths and the rewarding paths of life, but also that of acquiescing with all meekness and docility in the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic church. "Whatever truth other churches retain, they have derived from the Catholic church. . . . Moreover, it has every

truth that any one of them possesses, and more than all of them taken together." This is indeed a simplifying formula. If it were as true as it is simple, it would relieve the truth-seeker of the pain of thinking and the anxiety of bearing responsibility, as it has Dr. Orchard.

THE ABBEY OF EVOLAYNE. *By Paul Regnier. Translated from the French by Samuel Sloane. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.00.*

A Parisian surgeon and his wife visit a Benedictine monastery in Belgium. Man and wife, both people of rare talent, have found their lives fruitless. The religion of Christ as presented to them in the monastery chapel bring about a conversion, the man first and his wife following. After much study and prayer the man decides to renounce his wife and become religious. The story centers around the conflict these two must meet as they try to work out their destiny, the memory of a marital love back of them and the spiritual love of God before them. Women are believed to take their loves more seriously and the difficulties this woman encounters as she takes the veil makes the story. The book is recommended by the Catholic Book club.

CORRESPONDENCE

Is it God or Nature?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Modern liberals, I believe, are not so much embarrassed by the "barbarous, irascible deity" of the early Hebrews as Mr. Vlastos thinks. We see that stage as a step in the development of the idea of God belonging to that distant period in the past but we cannot accept it today.

We do well to remember the serious consequences, to ourselves and to society, of our folly and ignorance and sin but it seems to me that we do wrong to impute those consequences to the wrath of God. Wrath means fury, rage, or a deep and determined indignation. Does Mr. Vlastos mean wrath in this sense in which it is usually understood? We are punished by our very nature. Growth is the law of life and when we do something to prevent or warp that growth we suffer because we are not fulfilling that law in our lives. If we put anything less than God first in our lives we suffer for it, not because God is jealous or angry, but because that thing will fail us when we need it due to its imperfection or inadequacy or, perhaps, because we have outgrown it. We have been content with the good when we should have chosen the best. Do we not do this if we accept the idea of a God of Wrath?

Detroit, Mich. RUTH P. WILLIAMS.

From England's Green and Pleasant Land

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have often wondered why The Christian Century is so fond of saying nasty things about England and the English—things which seem to me neither Christian nor friendly; things which if they were said in an English paper about the United States of America and her people would, I hope and believe, raise a storm of protest from the paper's English readers.

I am happy to count Americans among my best friends and to admire them for what they are—men like Dr. Mott, Sherwood Eddy, David McConaughy, Ned Carter and many others of a like spirit; men and women who are an inspiration to all with whom they come into contact—real Christian gentlemen. My wife is an American and America is almost home to me. For years we have subscribed regularly to your paper and have found interesting and valuable articles in it, but I cannot remember picking up any number of it in which I have not found something that hurt, and I do not think that I am "touchy" or thin-skinned.

I often ask myself, "Why this unpleasant tone?" Is it that it appeals to your reading public and helps to sell the paper? Have you ever been to England? Have you any friends over here? Have you been unfortunate in the English people whom you have met? Have you no desire to draw our two peoples together, or what is your object in the constant attacks and suggestions and innuendoes?

I have just been reading your issue of April 10 and the letter from Eric A. McLaren, which you publish under the heading, "The British Viewpoint." I regret its tone and cannot agree with its last three paragraphs, or for that matter with any of them, but I think I know what has stirred up the writer and I think that United States citizens would have been similarly stirred up by an English paper writing of them and their people as you do of the British.

I turn on to page 486 of your paper (same issue) and find these words: "But India can be vilified by anyone in any country without fear that the British government will take the trouble to take steps against him." Is this Christian? Is it fair? What is the purpose of it?

You profess to care for peace—is it peacemaking? In private life, if a friend made such a statement about you, would you feel warmly toward him?

I have no wish to be unpleasant to you or to any citizen of the United States. On the contrary, I wish to promote good feeling and mutual appreciation between our two peoples, and the only reason why I have ventured to write is that I think your attitude toward Britain and the British may perhaps be due to your not realizing how that attitude may strike those who have every wish to be friendly toward you and to try to see your point of view about affairs American. I hope that nothing that I have written will hurt your feelings or appear to be unfair.

Old House, Plow Hatch, W. R. ARBUTHNOT.
East Grimstead,
Sussex, England.

[Of course there is nothing unfair in this letter. On the contrary, candor is a virtue of tremendous value in promoting honest understanding between peoples. But should not the same candor be permitted our Indian correspondent, Mr. Philip, who is not only a member of one of the oldest Christian churches in existence—the Mar Thoma church of the Malabar coast—but also a secretary of the National Christian council of India? And we can assure Mr. Arbuthnot that we have been in England, that we have many friends there, and that they are among the salt of the earth. —THE EDITORS.]

The Wendel Millions

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: When the bequest to the little theological school at Nanking was made some years ago of several millions, variously estimated after litigation, I put in the press suggestions for its expenditure which I now renew. I believe that if the amount, properly managed, were spent in broadcasting information by radio, it might accomplish a thousand times as much as it is now likely to do. Nearly 400,000,000 people, using different dialects, largely illiterate, poverty-stricken and superstitious, need to be reached. They are trying in fifty years to adjust themselves to new conditions and ideas; to make adjustments which our forbears had centuries in which to make. They are overwhelmed with the new order, new ideas, the overturn of age-old habits and they are left to be the prey of Russian communists and Japanese exploiters. Narcotics are being forced upon them. They have no sense of unity or security. They need to overcome the separation of time and space as radio has overcome it.

If a competent committee from all the Christian churches and colleges in China were to put a radio in every town where the masses could assemble and listen through loudspeakers, it ought to be possible to have educated Chinese, broadcasting in the differ-

ent dialects, give daily instruction for several hours. At one hour they would report world events; at others, give instruction in health, sanitation, agriculture, care of children, ethical conduct, and the practical, ethical side of Christianity and Bible stories. The subject matter to be sent out daily would be carefully prepared by the working committee with the Nanking seminary and varied for the needs of different provinces. Russia is making great use of the radio for educational purposes. If these masses of illiterates are left waiting for school education, their case may be hopeless. The government consent and protection would doubtless be obtained if the radio time were in part freely supplied to it from the fund.

How would this carry out the donor's purpose? Whatever the Nanking seminary saw would help banish superstition and was an extension of its Christian work would seem to fill all requirements of law. Common sense ought to make the gift of any number of millions a blessing, not a curse.

Boston, Mass. LUCIA AMES MEAD.

The Finality of the Resurrection

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A recent correspondent to the Question Box of your journal asked for "a sound basis for assured belief" in "individual conscious life after physical death." The response which H. L. W. gave leads us to question both the soundness and frankness of his reply.

True, H. L. W. says: "In the last issue he (the Christian) comes back and ties up to his trust in the Master as the great expert in the realm of life and death." This sounds well, but since the columnist ignores or avoids in his discussion of immortality the cardinal fact of the resurrection of our Lord, one wonders! If there was no resurrection, as H. L. W.'s silence on the matter implies, how can Christ reasonably be called the "great expert" in the realm of death? Of course, the romantic young carpenter of Galilee remains: and so does the finality of the cross. But the Christian faith has been in the finality, not of the cross but of the resurrection.

The cavalier way in which liberal reinterpreters of Christian doctrine ignore the resurrection reveals the tragic superficiality of their position. They "are of all men the most pitiable," who, having resigned themselves to an interpretation of the New Testament which makes the entirety of our Christian faith historically questionable, are not honest enough with themselves or others to confess their theological quandary.

Although students in a liberal school of theology, we can recognize little force in the kind of "assurance" which exponents of the attitude exemplified in H. L. W.'s answer tentatively offer. The Christian's answer to the cry "If a man die, shall he live again?" is still, even in this latest Christian century, the fact of the resurrection of our Lord. If those who undertake to write the answers to earnest queries concerning the issues of life and death have abandoned this reply which God has given to the cross, why do they not in honesty and frankness say so?

Oberlin Graduate School, Oberlin, Ohio.
ROBERT L. BOLBACH.
WALTON HANNAH.
ROYDEN J. MOTT.
CARROLL E. SIMCOX.

Millions on the Mission Field

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have just read in The Christian Century of April 24 the article entitled "Millions on the Mission Field."

It seems to me that if the aim of the giver of those millions of dollars was to win the people of China to accept the Christian faith—as it doubtless was—the best way to spend a considerable part of the income from that fund would be to put into homes a few thousand of the starving, destitute orphans, who have been made orphans by famine and flood.

If Jesus Christ should come to earth today and were traveling in China and should hear the pitiful cries of those starving little ones, what do you think he would say? Would he suggest endowing theological schools to teach about his infinite love and goodness? Or would he say, "Gather up those dear children and feed them"?

How many thousand starving, dying children could be taken in and cared for by that fund?

Suppose they put that matter up to the Chinese and see what they think about it.

Claremont, Calif. MARY LEITCH.

The Question Box

If baptism was originally immersion, as most scholars say, was it single or trine immersion? If single, how did the Greek church and some modern denominations come to adopt trine immersion? If originally trine immersion, why was it simplified? G. B. H., Freeport, Illinois.

CEREMONIAL washings were prescribed for the priests in the Levitical regulations for the temple service among the Hebrews. Other religions, particularly the mystery cults, had similar rites. Among the Jews there were three requirements for the admission of gentiles to the privileges of the synagogue—circumcision, the ceremonial bath, and the customary sacrifices at the sanctuary. In the ministry of John the Baptist the second of these observances was adopted as the initiatory act in the new commitment. It had the double significance of illustrating the cleansing values of the kingdom of heaven thus proclaimed, and its public acceptance by an act which all could witness. Jesus followed the same method in his preaching, and probably for the same reasons, although other values such as the symbolism of his death, burial and resurrection were associated with the rite in the apostolic age.

It seems to have been a single act. The first notice of trine immersion appears in the writings of Tertullian (160-230 A.D.), by which time a more elaborate ritual had been adopted. The practice of immersing the candidate three times was suggested by the threefold formula in Matthew 28:19. Mention is made of the triple act in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, of about the same period. The Greek church and some other communions interpreted the baptismal formula as given by Jesus as committing his followers to the practice of triple baptism. Most of the churches however have placed no such construction upon that passage, and some scholars have questioned the authenticity of that text.

H. L. W.

May I offer a small correction and an addition or two to your answer to a correspondent about the oldest Bible manuscripts in your issue of January 30?

The Codex Ephraemi is so named not because the Syrian father, Ephraem, himself wrote his own works on the parchment leaves of a worn-out New Testament, but because an admiring and economical disciple of Ephraem did this seven or eight centuries after Ephraem's death.

Mention should surely have been made in this country of one of the outstanding treasures of the Freer gallery in Washington, D. C., the Washington Ms, (W), equal in age and superior in interest to some of those mentioned. A romantic interest attaches to its text of the Gospel of Mark, which apparently traces back to ancestors which, tattered and mutilated, may have passed through the great persecution under the Emperor Decius.

Most ancient of all and brought to light only about four years ago are the Chester Beatty papyri, fragments of a great Greek Bible, apparently a century or more earlier than those mentioned. Even a date in the second Christian century is conjectured for some of these fragments and for others reported only last November from the National library in Vienna.

Chevy Chase, Md. C. L. C.

The information by this correspondent is of value and is appreciated. The answer referred to, appearing in the issue of January 30, dealt only with measurably complete codices of the Scriptures and not with manuscripts containing portions of the Bible like the Freer Ms. of the Gospels and fragments found in papyri.

H. L. W.

XUM

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Church to Lead Social Program

Rabbi Calls for Action as Well as Thought—"Strike" Is Capitalized by Students—Off to Alaska

(Correspondence from Minnesota)

VIRGINIA, MINN., May 4.—"Protestant, Jew and Catholic must mass forces in a greater war for social justice than the world has ever known in order to compel industry to bear the cost of the problems it creates," declared Rabbi Israel Goldstein of New York city in a convocation address at the University of Minnesota this week. "The principles of social justice as enunciated by the church were undertaken before our national economic collapse made the evils of the system so tragically patent. They are the sober analysis of the normal functioning of our social order. The church will have to go a good deal farther in its recommendations if it is to maintain its leadership in social idealism. The church has enunciated the principles upon which a just social order must rest, but now it is imperative that we follow thought with action."

* * *

Hamline University Has a Birthday

Hamline university of St. Paul was organized at Red Wing, Minn., 81 years ago, and will celebrate its birthday anniversary on May 19. Plans call for the observation of Founders' day in many Methodist churches throughout the state, and for a great celebration at the Hippodrome on the state fair grounds on Sunday evening, May 19, at which time the massed choirs of the Methodist churches of the Twin Cities will sing. The Hamline choir, which has won an enviable place among music critics of the northwest, will also have a part in this observance. President Charles N. Pace will be the speaker.

Hamline is also planning a forward movement which includes the renovation of its old buildings and the addition of some new ones, specifically a field house, a men's dormitory, and an addition to the library; the rearrangement of the campus, planting of shrubbery, and the beautifying of the entire plant; a substantial addition to the endowment fund, and a $100,000 contingent fund. Under the presidency of Dr. Pace, and with the prevailing spirit in the school, the outlook for Hamline is very hopeful.

* * *

Minnesota Universities Observe "Strike Day"

The demonstration against war was carried out in many Minnesota high schools, colleges and universities, with many kinds of reactions on the part of authorities and citizens and students. Two illustrations may suffice. At the University of Minnesota the demonstrators were addressed by no less a personage than Governor Floyd Olson. But there were demonstrations against the demonstrators. So-called patriotic groups could see nothing good in the strike, and certain strike leaders were even threatened with violence. The Minnesota daily in a front page editorial declared: "All of us are against war, but war cannot be crushed by emotionalism."

Contrasted with this attitude on the state university campus was the way it was carried out at Hamline university in St. Paul. There a rearrangement of class schedules was authorized by the dean in order that the strike might be called as nearly as possible at the stipulated hour, 11:00 a.m. The principal speaker at this demonstration was T. F. Rutledge Beale of the People's church, St. Paul, with one faculty member and one co-ed also speaking. Two leaflets were distributed during the week calling for student and faculty support.

* * *

Minnesota Families Trek to Alaska

Sixty-seven families with 224 individuals from Minnesota were included in the group of pioneers that are to make Alaska their home under the colonization project of the federal government. The climate of Alaska shouldn't bother them after having lived in northern Minnesota.

EDWARD W. STODGHILL.

Commencement Program at Colgate Divinity School

Homer P. Rainey, president of Bucknell university, will deliver the convocation address in connection with the commencement exercises of Colgate-Rochester divinity school on May 20. He will speak on the subject, "The Minister in the Modern World." Following his address, David Jones Evans of the divinity school faculty will speak on "A Sense of What Is Vital." President Beaven will preach the baccalaureate sermon Sunday, May 19, his theme being "The Lift of the Far View."

Mrs. Ernest Thomas Dies in Toronto

Mrs. Ernest Thomas, wife of Dr. Thomas, secretary of the department of social service and evangelism of the United Church of Canada, died last week in Toronto. Mrs. Thomas, a gifted literary woman, threw herself vigorously into the activities of the United church, and took special interest in the work of religious education. To this field she contributed in writing and in terms of actual leadership. Her widowed husband, Dr. Ernest Thomas, is the Christian Century correspondent from Toronto.

Dr. Easton to Receive Degree from Glasgow University

Dr. Burton Scott Easton, professor of New Testament at the General theological seminary, New York city, will receive a D.D. degree from the University of Glasgow in June.

Rural Schools Get Rosenwald Libraries

The eager demand for books for impoverished Negro districts in the south has resulted in the Julius Rosenwald fund's setting aside an appropriation for 200 new miniature libraries in addition to 300 already sent out. These miniature libraries consist of 33 volumes each.

Find Ruins of Ancient Mosque

Prof. Schazmann Discovers Frescoes of Blessed Virgin—Women's Congress Impresses Turks

(Correspondence from Istanbul)

ISTANBUL, April 20.—The writer of these lines has been the first journalist to visit the excavations conducted by Prof. Paul Schazmann in the ruins of the so-called "Odalar Jami," i.e., the "Mosque with the rooms."

Before the conquest the mosque was a church, itself a dependence of the Manual monastery. In its outward appearance it was distinguished from all others by being erected on a socle over 10 yards high with 19 sepulchral rooms built in it. Hence its name in Turkish. In its time of splendor this church was known because of the magnificence of its inner decoration.

What constitutes now the interest of Professor Schazmann's excavations is the fact that he has been able to bring to light admirable frescoes telling of the life of the blessed virgin. Frescoes, it must be remembered, are very rare at Istanbul. When Byzantine churches were converted into mosques the paintings were either covered with whitewash or hammered out. It now happened that in the case of the Odalar Jami, the walls which needed reinforcement were doubled in Byzantine times. By removing the inner wall, Professor Schazmann laid bare the older wall and together with it the frescoes covering it.

The paintings in the southern apse show the childhood and the youth of the blessed virgin according to the apocryphal gospels. One of these pictures represents the "presentation in the temple" and the other the "betrothal of the blessed virgin." Joseph, whose scepter has blossomed, receives her from the high priest's hand.

The sequel of the cycle is to be found on the piers of the arch that provide a communication between the nave and the southern apse. It owes its preservation to the opening having been bricked up by the Turks, and its discovery to the removal of that masonry by Professor Schazmann. On the one side, an upper zone figures the "Annunciation" which, on the other side, is faced by the "Flight into Egypt."

Prof. P. Schazmann, of Swiss nationality, is a professor of archeology at Lausanne university. For over 30 years his name has been closely linked with excavations at Pergamo and on the Isle of Cos.

* * *

Turkey Ponders Significance Of a Women's Congress

The 12th congress of the International Alliance of women for suffrage and equal citizenship is in progress at Istanbul. It is, therefore, too early to speak of results. The importance of the alliance, however, lies less in the reports heard or in the resolutions passed, than in the valuable medium for the propagation of ideas of peace and cooperation it represents. It is one thing to

XUM

read about peace, and another to see and hear persons who have spent the better part of their lives in struggling and fighting for better morals, the protection of the weak, and a better understanding among nations.

Although at Istanbul much space is given by the press to the congress and to women's rights in general, the subject, in private, is jokingly trifled over. Yet, so strong is the sense of justice and the sincerity that seem to emanate from its president, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and a few others, that something of the ridicule which has increasingly been attached to pacifism crumbles away.

Next to the president, the vice-president, Mrs. Adele Schreiber, personifies social service as a happy contrast to the ideals of naziism, for example. Miss Josephine Schain of the United States is a member of the board and president of the peace commission. She was one of the three women from the U.S.A. sent to the London naval conference on the cause and cure of war.

* * *

Geneva Ruling on Straits Arouses Turkish Protest

International policy at Geneva has contributed to bringing the question of the Straits to the forefront of actuality. The Turkish claim, as set forth by the Turkish foreign minister, Dr. Tevfik Aras, who at the same time is the chairman of the League of Nations, is that the demilitarization of the Straits imposed upon Turkey by the treaty of Lausanne has no counterpart in an instrument similar to the treaty of Locarno. Should, therefore, any modification intervene in the situation hitherto determined by the treaties so far in force, Turkey would be compelled to make such modification depend on a corresponding modification in the military status of the Straits. In simpler terms, this means that if Bulgaria is authorized to rearm, Turkey must be at no disadvantage for defending the Straits.

* * *

Athletic Games in Palestine Staged by all Races

America has been placed first in the second Maccabiah which took place at Tel-Aviv in Palestine early this month, and the American team has consequently been awarded the Melchett cup which was presented by the high commissioner, Sir A. Wauchope. Throughout the games, the flags of over 30 nations with the blue and white Zionist banner, fluttered side by side, while 50,000 spectators watched the sporting competition of more than 1,000 athletes. The games were not confined to Jews alone. Many British and native athletes, among them the British army garrison and members of the police force, with Arabs and Egyptians, entered for the events.

E. GUERON.

Death of Henry C. Smith, Pioneer Educator

Henry Cowles Smith, professor of music and the classics at North Central college, Naperville, Ill., since the founding of the school in 1862 until his retirement in 1922, died in Naperville last month at the age of 96 years. Upon his graduation from Oberlin in 1862, Professor Smith joined the faculty of the new college of which his father, Rev. Augustin A. Smith, was president. His life was closely bound up with the school even to the time of his death. Prof. H. Augustine Smith of Boston university is a son of Dr. Smith.

Pledge Peace in Riverside Church

Ministers and Congregation Cooperate in Demonstration—Ministers March in May Day Parade

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, May 4.—The peace demonstration at Riverside church last Thursday night was the most impressive and significant religious protest against war that has ever been held in this city. Answering the call of 29 Christian and Jewish clergymen, more than 200 ministers of various groups and denominations gathered to make solemn protest against all war. While no general invitation to the public was made the body of this great church was filled with men and women who came to see this dramatic dedication of a great section of our religious leadership to the cause of peace. The procession of clergymen was led by Lawrence T. Hosie who carried the cross and Rabbi David deSola Pool and Rabbi Aaron L. Weinstein who carried the Torah and the Star of David, the symbols of the Jewish faith. Addresses were made by four religious leaders, who because of their service in the war knew from their own experience what it meant: Robert W. Searle, W. Russell Bowie, Rabbi William F. Rosenblum and Allan Knight Chalmers.

* * *

Ministers and Congregation Take Peace Pledge

As a climax to this beautiful and worshipful service the clergymen massed in the chancel and reverently repeated in unison the "covenant of peace"—"In loyalty to God I believe that the way of true religion cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country I support its adoption of the Kellogg-Briand pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction, I therefore renounce war and never will I support another." Following this there was a prayer of consecration by William P. Merrill. An invitation by Dr. Chalmers to the men and women of the general congregation to join in this renunciation of war was answered affirmatively by over nine-tenths of those assembled. Even making due allowance for the enthusiasm of the moment such a large response is significant. It is expected that such meetings will be held all over the country.

* * *

Commencement Plans at Union Seminary

Commencement exercises at Union theological seminary are scheduled for the week of May 14-21. The annual dinner of the alumni will be held on Monday, May 20, at which time the speakers are to be Henry Goddard Leach, the editor of the Forum, and Russell Henry Stafford, pastor of Old South church in Boston. The graduation exercises will take place in the chapel Tuesday evening, May 21. Morgan P. Noyes of the Central Presbyterian church of Montclair, N. J., will deliver the address.

* * *

Little Excitement in May Day Parades

The May Day parades passed off quietly with no untoward incidents. While there

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were tens of thousands of paraders the police had only the problem of directing traffic. This is a vindication of the policy of the city administration which has insisted that only the minimum police force be mobilized for this occasion. Among the groups represented in the parade was the Ministers' union which was vigorously cheered by both paraders and onlookers.

* * *

F.O.R. Praises President On Canadian Stand

A strong letter of approval has been sent by the Fellowship of Reconciliation to President Roosevelt thanking him for his outright rebuke to the military men who would fortify our Canadian border. This letter was signed on behalf of the fellowship by the chairman, John Nevin Sayre.

* * *

Italian Protestant Union At Annual Dinner

The metropolitan Italian Protestant union held its annual dinner last week. This organization seeks to bring together the Italians of Protestant faith and has already done much to make the Protestant churches more effective among the Italian-Americans. It is made up of 50 missions and churches in the city. Plans are already under way for a weekend conference under its auspices at the International Baptist seminary in East Orange, N. J.

* * *

Leaders Concerned Over Religious Education

Eight years ago the women's committee for religious education of children was organized by the New York city federation of churches. This committee seeks to promote a higher type of religious education among the children of our Sunday schools and through parents' classes. At the annual luncheon of this organization, which is to be held May 10 at the Town hall, the speakers will be George A. Buttrick and Mrs. Ernest G. Stillman. There will also be short two-minute reports of the work being carried on under the auspices of this committee.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Dr. Magary of Brooklyn Proposed For Moderator

Alvin E. Magary, minister of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian church, Brooklyn, will be proposed for the office of moderator of the 147th general assembly of the Presbyterian church, U.S.A., which meets in Cincinnati May 23. Other candidates are Stewart M. Robinson, of the Second church, Elizabeth, N. J.; Charles W. Welch, of Fourth church, Louisville, and Ezra A. Van Nuys, of Calvary church, San Francisco.

Church Women Plan Dedication Day, May 30

The National council of federated church women has selected May 30, Ascension day, as its special day of dedication for this year. The council calls upon the church women of America to observe this day "for the purpose of rededicating themselves to the task of seeking to establish a Christian social order in which all areas of life shall be brought into harmony with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ." The council has a membership of 23 million women. The annual meeting of the council is to be held in Rochester, N. Y., May 21-23.

Tennessee Cuts College Grants

Literacy and Prohibition Record Not Enviable — Southern Baptists Meet J. Frank Norris

(Correspondence from Memphis)

MEMPHIS, May 3.—The Tennessee legislature has adjourned with about as feeble a record as could be imagined. After weeks of fighting the sales tax bill was finally defeated under pressure of protests from all parts of the state. A bill to eliminate the state normal schools entirely was defeated and in its place was enacted a law granting reduced appropriations to all state institutions of higher learning. An example of what that means can be seen from the fact that the West Tennessee state teachers college at Memphis with an annual enrolment of more than 1,000 students will have only $52,000 a year for the next two years. One good argument against the normals is that the state is already encumbered with thousands of graduate teachers without positions. As a matter of fact large numbers of students who attend the normals have no intention of teaching, yet they must sign an agreement that they will devote certain years to that profession. The school authorities urge those with scruples of conscience to sign "as a matter of mere form," which puts the schools in a bad position from the point of view of morals. It is being urged that the normals have their status changed from teacher training schools to regular colleges.

* * *

Educators Roused by Literacy Record

The action of the legislature in cutting educational appropriations is a sad blow to the hopes of men like Walter D. Cocking, state commissioner of education, who were roused to action by the fact that the comparatively prosperous state of Tennessee ranks 39th among the states of the union in literacy. To make matters worse, there were in 1930 only four states with a poorer record than Tennessee's regarding the literacy of native born whites, those states being New Mexico, Louisiana, Kentucky and North Carolina. Thus Tennessee's poor rating is not due entirely to its large Negro population.

* * *

Nashville Ministers Rebuke State Legislators

The legislature refused to pass a bill to repeal prohibition and yet did permit the raising of the alcoholic content of beer to five per cent. What Tennessee now confronts is prohibition within, and wet states on three sides of her. Your correspondent's morning Memphis paper today carries a whiskey advertisement from West Memphis, Ark., which is a short drive from Memphis, Tenn. The advertisement assures its readers that its excellent whiskey is not for sale in states prohibiting it. Which means that Tennessee newspapers make a profit of selling advertising for whiskey which is sold to Tennesseeans in other states, the taxes therefrom going to those other states. To make the situation more outrageous, the Scripps Howard papers published on the day after our noble representatives broke camp a large front page picture of more than 100 empty whiskey bottles picked up in the capital from the desks of these guardians of sobriety. A group of Nashville ministers issued a severe rebuke to said guardians while the school children of all the larger Tennessee cities were given another demonstration of the depths to which representative government can sink. Before the legislature broke up it repealed the Tennessee law making 16 the earliest age at which marriage was legal with the consent of parents or guardians, and 21 without consent. Marriages are now legal in Tennessee at the age of 12, with or without consent.

* * *

Frank Norris Competes With Baptist Convention

Memphis will be host to the Southern Baptist convention this month. From the point of view of the non-Baptist public more publicity value is likely to inhere in the convention's "side show" than in the big tent itself. The "side show" is none other than J. Frank Norris, free-lance Baptist from Ft. Worth, Texas, who is not allowed a seat in the convention. Norris, arch fundamentalist, sensationalist, vice crusader, with one killing to his credit, has rented the Lyric theater where he promises to give the city "exciting times" during his two weeks' meetings. He gets the jump on the convention by arriving ten days ahead. An example of what Norris may do here was furnished by him some years ago when there was another meeting of the Southern Baptist convention in Memphis. Norris procured the use of a public park, gathered a huge crowd, and then proceeded to display before his audience samples of bootleg liquor he had obtained easily within our fair city. The city officials who shut their eyes to bootlegging, gambling and prostitution in Memphis let Norris have his say. The convention ended, Norris departed, and Memphis remained as it had been before.

* * *

Seceding Presbyterians Use Congregational Church

The arrangements forecast in this column for the seceding group from First Presbyterian church of Memphis to use the building of the First Congregational church have gone through. Robert A. George, Congregational minister, announces that there is to be absolutely nothing in the way of a merger between his congregation and that of Dr. Dudley, the seceding pastor. For a monthly consideration the seceders will use Dr. George's building when his own congregation is not using it; every activity of the two groups remaining separate. Dr. George's congregation is of the liberal orthodox type while Dr. Dudley's is what is known as premilleniarian.

* * *

Lindsay Memorial Not Involved In Church Merger

Last month in writing of the merger of two Presbyterian churches in Memphis by slip of the typewriter your correspondent included the Lindsay Memorial church of which Josiah Sibley is pastor. The Lindsay Memorial church retains its Northern Presbyterian connection and is growing rapidly under the liberal leadership of Dr. Sibley. The merger was between First Presbyterian and the Grace-Covenant church, the minister of the latter church, becoming pastor of the combination.

JOHN CLARENCE PETRIE.

XUM

Dr. Gordon to be College Lecturer

Church Vindicates Liberal Editor—Churches Seek Cooperation—"Groups" Not Impressive

(Correspondence from Toronto)

TORONTO, May 4.—The King Gordon case has come to a conclusion which in its major aspect is satisfactory. The general council declared that his dismissal from the Montreal college, while justified as a response to the call for economy, had created a suspicion in the church which could be allayed only by some "signal action" and the college was asked to appoint him to be lecturer in Christian ethics until the next general council. This would demonstrate that the church was not silencing him for his teaching. But the college board refused this request, and the "signal action" had to be sought elsewhere. The opponents of his appointment soon found a rising tide of indignation in the church and the nation; and the executive of the general council was confronted with a resolution of the board of evangelism and social service that its work was hindered by the inaction. It was therefore decided unanimously that Mr. Gordon shall be available for the next year for lectures on Christian ethics in colleges and elsewhere. This action practically enforces the mind of the general council, though it leaves the personal prospect uncertain as before.

* * *

Editorial Freedom Is Vindicated

Meanwhile another important dispute which threatened serious results found a happy termination. The editor of the New Outlook, official organ of the United church, has shown throughout a courageous and informed attitude to the significant movements of thought and social organization. It happens that this coincides with a general tendency toward reduction of circulation in church papers and the board of publications issued a resolution selecting the one item of deficit in the account of the paper. The editor published the resolution but added some other items from the publishing accounts. This excited such resentment in some quarters that the publishing house suppressed the whole issue. Editorial freedom and responsibility were clearly at stake. The right spirit soon found vigorous expression, first through informal conference of church leaders and then through official action of the general council's executive, which together make certain that not in this generation will there be any interference of business interests with the editor. The issue was released and the editor received a long overdue and unanimous expression of appreciation by the executive officer of his administration.

* * *

Anglicans of Saskatchewan Seek Cooperation

The Anglican bishop of northern Saskatchewan approached the United church presbytery of his area both in person and in a letter asking that arrangements be made to prevent overlapping in spiritual ministries. He suggested that each community be assigned to one of the communions, that all share alike in the Lord's table, that there should be one church for common worship with one pastor, every member retaining membership in his own church, and that the church building be available for periodical use by officials of the other communion for administering the sacraments according to the rites of that other body. The United Church home mission board has widened the scheme by asking the whole Anglican episcopate throughout Canada to consider the possibility of some such policy being generally adopted.

* * *

Baptists Organizations Join in Movement

So, too, in the Baptist organization of churches a similar trend is manifest. A new hymnal is under consideration and it has been decided that, with a view to the future and its probable demand for a common heritage in corporate praise their own book bear the same title as the "Hymnary" of the United church, and that in view of the rich catholicity of the latter volume the contents be similar.

* * *

Group Movements Minus Oxford

Last year when the Oxford group movement was still exciting much discussion an effort was made by some of its devotees to promote its objectives without the control of Dr. Buchman. They urged that this might be achieved if Frank Raynor and his brother-in-law, Mr. Fletcher, of the English group, were invited to Canada. At that time the duties of Richard Roberts as moderator required that he make suitable provision for his own congregation during his frequent absence. He was favorably impressed on first acquaintance with Mr. Raynor, and the board of his church invited the two gentlemen to act as pastor's assistants when needed, but with the expectation that they would be in wide demand for apostolic work throughout the church at large. Everything possible was done at the outset to secure for the visitors a warm welcome both locally and in the church. But disappointment was soon experienced. The religious outlook of the visitors, especially of Mr. Raynor himself, failed to yield understanding of appreciation of the needs of the present day church. He took occasion quite early to set his message of God quite apart from the message now being given by the church at large concerning the rule of God in organized society. After the first months the disappointment was so evident and general that there was no likelihood that a mission of that type would win its way in Canada, and the workers are now returning to England. Everyone appreciated the simple piety of Mr. Raynor and the more reflective devoutness of his associate; but their appeal was almost limited to people whose outlook of life has been unchanged by the disastrous results of modern economic developments.

* * *

No Marked Improvement Wrought by "Group"

One may sum up the story of the last two years by saying that while here and there a number of ministers were brought to a more exacting discipline of their own lives and to more direct ministries to the needs of men, church life as a whole reveals to the observer no marked improvement due to the Buchman groups.

ERNEST THOMAS.

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Spirit of Freedom Still With Greeks

Individualism, Anarchy, Revolt Still Characterize Sons of Hellas —Laugh At Dictators

(Correspondence from Athens)

ATHENS, April 23.—It would probably be going too far to say that the recent Greek revolution was caused by Socrates. Most people would say, "You have got the names balled up; 'twas Venizelos." And they might add that poor old Socrates, with Xantippe and all, had enough trouble without being made responsible for the recent civil war. Besides, Mr. Socrates hasn't been seen about here for twenty-five centuries. That's all true enough, but still Socrates was guilty in a way. He was a typical Greek. All the Greeks are little Socrateses. They are rebels. They want to find out for themselves. They have to be shown. They refuse to take orders, to be shoved into molds, to submit to the steam-rollers. They defy authorities and laugh at pompous high-monkey-monks.

* * *

When A Greek Doubts He Revolts

When they are in doubt, they revolt. A revolt in Greece is a common occurrence. It is a mode of social expression. It is a way to get an idea across. It is a vehicle for self-assertion. There are newspapers, theaters, books and revolutions. All are instruments for letting the powers that be know what you think about them. The Greek was the first and may be the last democrat. He despises tyrants and scorns dictators. He doesn't even like kings. Every Greek wants to be boss, to have his own way to spring his own system, to impose his own ideas.

* * *

Stalins and Hitlers Are Laughed At

There are no boots in Greece, no heavy, awe-inspiring costumes. There are sandals, slippers with tassels, jaunty jackets and tight-fitting pants such as jugglers wear. And even the men wear skirts.

It looks a bit comical—and, indeed, it is. A Greek is not too pompous. He is somewhat incredulous. He is critical, humorous and satirical. If a Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin should appear here in Greece, he would be laughed at. It would seem absurd to a Greek to suppose that one man could know everything and command everybody. A rigid, dehumanizing system like fascism or communism would seem intolerable.

* * *

Greek Communism Not Dangerous

There are lots of rabid, vociferous communists in Greece. That ideal attracts them. The dream appeals to them. The protest, the challenge, the defiance of power contained in it fascinates them. So they form a party, edit papers, circulate literature, hire halls, hold meetings and vociferate against wrong. But they are not deadly. Of all the fanatics, the Greek is the most amiable. He does not take himself too seriously. He rejects all his neighbors' panaceas and never more than half believes his own. He believes in it enough to write and shout about it, but not enough to kill his neighbors because of it. After the last big revolution, which was nothing less than a civil war, no one was hanged and not more than a score of people were killed in battle.

The Greek, in spite of his vocal vehemence, is conciliatory. He is agile rather than rugged. He is elastic, capable, resourceful, ardent. He sings and jollies and tells stories. He dreams of a Grand Hellas and foresees his culture dominating continents. He glories in his past and revels in his future. But withal there never has been and never will be a great Greek empire.

* * *

He Investigates All Ideas

The Greek revolts against that. He remains a democrat, an individual, a jaunty, happy little rebel, with tassels on his toes, flashing black eyes and a moving picture star's moustache. Of course, he investigates all ideas. You remember how he once listened to St. Paul. He listens to communists, fascists, hitlerists and imperialists and all the rest in the same way today. He gives them all the once over. And some of his fellows accept these new ideas.

* * *

Give Me Liberty, Or Give Me Death

The Greek is too democratic. He will not goosestep. He will not succumb before the steam-rollers of dictatorships. He once saved Europe from Asiatic despots. Leonidas and his band dramatically perished rather than be pushed into the mold of gigantic social systems which enable one man to tell millions what to believe and sing and play and love.

And the Greek is still the same. He will always insist on expressing himself, on demanding his own way, on crying "put the rascals out." He revolts and expects others to revolt. He tolerates no censorship. He will not suffer the suppression of civil liberties. He scorns a curfew. He discusses politics even in the army. He laughs at epaulets on other people, ridicules authority when others exercise it, and mocks systems—when proposed by others.

* * *

Anarchy Is Better Than Dictatorship

This, of course, leads to anarchy and social weakness. Greece is a poor, disorganized land. These rebels have been pushed down onto the edges of archipelegos and the islands of the sea. They have bumpy roads and the engines of their automobiles knock.

But they cherish a grand and refreshing freedom. As censorships, dictatorships, pompous absolutism and crushing social systems sweep over Europe, turning everybody into a lifeless cog in a monstrous machine, every Greek dares still to be a Socrates.

I don't know where it will all end. The world's steam-rollers may push the Greeks onto some barren wilderness; but perhaps a free, defiant little Socrates on a grey rock amid the waves is better than booted hosts goosestepping over green meadows in order to make the world safe for brutal and dehumanized nationalistic juggernauts, run by spouting dictators.

R. H. MARKHAM.

Links Hitlerism With Versailles

Colored Leader Places Peace Burden on Black Race—Films Distort History—Big Peace Poll

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, April 25.—One of the happier straws of public opinion has been the chief editorial in the Times on the eve of Good Friday. "It is regrettable," they say, "that no allowance should have been made by a body like the league council for the special circumstances in which Germany incurred her obligations. It would have enhanced the reputation of the league for impartiality if one voice at least had been raised to recall the manner in which this particular treaty had been imposed. Germany signed it literally at the point of the bayonet. . . . Hitlerism is largely a revolt against Versailles; and until this fundamental truth is taken fully into account there will be no real peace in Europe."

But the average middle-class family man, pleased with Mr. Chamberlain's last week's budget, has concentrated on making the most of the holiday break and forgetting everything else, except perhaps Hore Belisha's exhortations to reduce the toll of the roads.

* * *

Britain Peace Poll Favors League

The peace ballot returns continue to come in steadily and have now passed the 6,000,000 mark. Of the total 6,083,597, or 97.1 per cent, are votes for Great Britain remaining in the league. The average poll for the whole country is 47.1 per cent, but in Wales and the north, which are not so apathetic as the more "respectable" south of England, an average of 60 per cent is far more common. The Isle of Anglesey has even averaged 77 per cent.

But an exception for the south is Mr. Winston Churchill's Loughton division of Essex, where the poll was nearly 70 per cent of the electorate. And this division, I may reveal, is that in which Edward Shillito resides!

* * *

Would Keep Negro Out of Next War

A call to Negroes all over the world "on no account to take up arms," should Europe choose to fight, is made by Harold Moody, the Jamaican president of the League of colored peoples, in the current number of the Keys, the quarterly journal of the league. Europe will never give this world peace, he says, and he wonders whether Africans, who have passed through very exacting experiences, are not now being called upon to make a great contribution to the world of our day by leading it into the way of peace. "As a race," he writes, "we have in modern times not done anything unitedly and on a really big scale. I feel the time has now come for such action."

Dr. Moody, who had announced his intention of retiring from the presidency of the League of colored peoples, has been persuaded to remain in office after all. This is a good thing for the future of a promising organization which, however, seems to have no other leader but the man who founded it and has shouldered responsibility for it for nearly five years. One of his innumerable concerns is the plight of Negro and Indian laborers of British nationality in Britain whom, because they cannot produce passports and birth certificates, organized white labor is demanding to have expelled as aliens.

* * *

Films Misinterpret History of War

The film makers seem to have been playing with history again. Protests are appearing in the Times because one "Jubilee" film, "Royal Cavalcade," shows the house of commons cheering wildly after Sir Edward Grey's memorable speech on August 3, 1914. As Lady Oxford, who was in the speakers gallery, and many others are pointing out, "the speech was received in sepulchral silence; not a man or woman felt in the mood to cheer."

* * *

Dr. J. E. Adams Dies; Was Famous Soldier

Death has come, at Aberdeen, to the padre who took part in the famous Christmas truce of 1914 when Germans and British refused to shoot one another from Dec. 25, until Jan. 3. This was J. Esslemont Adams, Presbyterian minister in Aberdeen, who was chaplain to the Gordon Highlanders and Scots Guards at the time. Noticing on Christmas day that some Germans were standing unarmed in the open on the top of their trenches, he told the colonel that he was off to speak to them.

What Can the American People Do?

How Can They Break the Big Business Grip?

The campaign of 1936 is beginning; and no one can understand it who has not read the story of the EPIC campaign of 1934, an experiment and a prophecy. The story has been told from the inside in

I, Candidate for Governor: and How I Got Licked

By UPTON SINCLAIR

Concerning the book the London Times writes:

Mr. Upton Sinclair was defeated in his bid for the Governorship of California, but no one is ever likely to beat him as his own publicity agent. He began the writing of this account of "how I got licked" a bare three days after the campaign's ending, completed it in less than five weeks, and had it appearing almost instantly in some sixty American newspapers! To be fair to him, it must be said that it is not himself but his ideas for which he seeks attention. Considering the circumstances of its writing, this record of the campaign is an astonishingly vigorous and good-natured piece of work.

John Haynes Holmes writes in "Unity":

The literature of Upton Sinclair's EPIC movement promises to become *epic* in proportions and character. This is the fifth volume of the series—and a thriller! The story it tells, of how the author captured the Democratic Party of California, ran for Governor, and was beaten by the most hideous eruption of demagoguery, slander, and personal betrayal known to contemporary annals in America would be incredible, were it not written by an honest man and backed by quotations, documents, pictures of facsimiles of unimpeachable authenticity. We can recall nothing like it since Ben Lindsay's "The Beast." First and foremost among the impressions created by this book is that of sheer amazement at Sinclair's accomplishment. . . . How it was done still remains a mystery. The reading of the exciting pages of this book, which gives an almost day by day account of the affair, leaves a wild and whirling impression. . . . Sinclair is a skilled writer, his soul was seared, and never has he done a better piece of work. The pages are like the successive explosions of a bunch of fire-crackers. Comedy mingles with tragedy, and irony with the plain, straight narrative of crime. No review can even begin to convey the sheer wickedness of those who fought the EPIC crusader. Words fail even to suggest the ingenuities of falsehood, chicanery, and treason which make up the catalogue of planned and plotted offenses. . . . We found ourself again and again laughing aloud at the sheer ridiculousness of successive episodes, and at the utterly comical way in which the writer set them forth. . . .

We commend this book to all. It should be read for its own sake as a story of absorbing interest. It should be known as an unforgettable chapter in the political history of this country. Above all, it should be recognized and treasured as a first-hand account of a great uprising of the people in what every day becomes more clear as an era of supreme crisis in the destinies of America.

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Dr. Adams arranged with the German commanding officer to bury the dead of both sides who were lying in "no man's land," then with the aid of an interpreter and a German divinity student a short service was conducted between the lines. At the end he gave the German officer a copy of "The Soldier's Prayer" and accepted a cigar in return.

This was one of the fine incidents of the war, but the military authorities were scandalized and nothing of the sort occurred again. Dr. Adams was told he would either get a courtmartial or a decoration. Happily he received the military cross, which was personally presented by the king.

* * *

Archbishop of Canterbury Decries "War Talk"

On Easter morning a full service from the new Liverpool cathedral was broadcast from each B.B.C. station. In his Good Friday sermon from St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, the archbishop of Canterbury condemned "foolish talk of war." All, he said, who stirred up passions of fear or suspicion or ambition were in truth crying, "Let Christ be crucified." So too were men really uttering the same cry if they dared to allow their consciences to become callous or if they acquiesced in the present state of affairs in which we had 2,000,000 unemployed. Resolute thought, courageous action and bold experiment were called for.

St. Sepulchre's church is opposite the central criminal court, the latter standing on the site of the notorious Newgate prison. It was the bells of St. Sepulchre's which tolled the unhappy criminal's passing as he was on his way from the condemned cell to Tyburn for execution. That we shudder at these things is perhaps a worth while reminder that attitudes after all *do* change.

* * *

Edward Shillito Injured In Bicycle Accident

I regret if this letter fails to bear a "Shillitotalitarian" touch, as someone has called it, but you will regret it with me when you hear that the reason is that Edward Shillito is now in bed with broken ribs and collar bone, as the result of being run down by a bicycle just after posting his usual letter to you last week. My telephone inquiry just before posting this brings the following welcome bulletin from his home:

"He is making good progress. It is impossible, of course, to tell how long a job it will be, but we can say that he is now definitely on the mend."

It looks as if, now that we have the 30 miles per hour motor speed limit in "built-up areas," it is of cycles rather than cars of which we pedestrians will have to beware. I shall hope to be able to send a reassuring bulletin next week.

HUBERT W. PEET.

Plan "Ashram" at Hartford Seminary

Robbins W. Barstow, president of Hartford seminary foundation, writes that the foundation proposes to offer to thoughtful Christian people, lay and clerical, an unusual opportunity for summer study. During the period Sept. 9-17 of next fall, a study conference patterned something after the Indian "ashram," or teaching retreat, will be held at Hartford. The seminary library would be a focus of interest, and there would be courses of lectures, discussions, group conferences, etc.

New King Symbol Of Many Changes

Siamese Hail Promise of Parliamentary Government—Little Disorder—Naval Visits From Friendly Powers

(Correspondence from Siam)

BANGKOK, April 22.—Since 1932 the word "new" has been used to describe many things pertaining to Siam—new national Christian church, new form of government, new constitution, new assembly of people's representatives, and now a new king. Ever since King Prajadhipok and Queen Rambaibarni left Siam in January 1934 there have been rumors of abdication, but when the government sent a delegation to England to try to settle the differences between his majesty and the cabinet, there were many who hoped that reconciliation would be possible.

* * *

Young Ananta Mahidol New King of Siam

As usual Europe and America knew more about the failure of negotiations than most citizens of Siam, but following March 2, the date of abdication, rumors spread rapidly in Bangkok, though it was not until the seventh that the official announcement was made by radio and his highness Ananta Mahidol was proclaimed king. This nine year old ruler, at present in school in Switzerland, is a nephew of the former king and a grandson of Chulalongkorn, Siam's greatest king of modern times. His ascent to the throne is of special interest to Americans because his father, H.R.H. prince Mahidol of Songkhla, was a graduate of Harvard medical school and was taking his interneship at McCormick hospital, an institution of the American Presbyterian mission in Chiengmai, the northern terminus of the Siamese railway system. He was a warm friend of the missionaries and was greatly beloved by the Siamese people for his deep interest in public health and his generosity in providing funds for many needed improvements. His death in 1929, within a year after his return from the United States, was a great loss to the nation.

* * *

Siamese Remain Calm Despite Disorder

Reports from America indicate political disturbances in Siam, but on the whole the change of rulers has been received very calmly. Certainly there were no demonstrations of any kind. Late in February the minister of defense (Luang Bipul) was severely wounded by an assassin who appears to have been the agent of a small group endeavoring to remove the minister of interior (Luang Pradit) as well. Evidence in the trial indicates that the men concerned in the plot planned the deed last December, but their agents failed them. There is no question that an air of uncertainty prevails, but a passing traveler would see no outward signs of unrest.

* * *

Constitutional Government Develops Stability

The case of Phya Devahastin, the vice-

chairman of the people's assembly who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for approving a petition containing accusations against the government, was carried to the appeal court. This tribunal, composed of three Siamese judges and two foreigners, reversed the action of the lower court, and ordered the prisoner released on the ground that the sovereign power of Siam is now centered in the nation, the citizens of which must have the right of petition. Therefore the defendant did not do wrong when he agreed to submit a motion of non-confidence in the government.

* * *

Militarism Stalks Also in Siam

With the advent of the Siamese New Year (April 1) the national budget has once more been a matter of much debate. In three years the proposed expenditures for the ministry of defense have risen from 13,000,000 baht to 21,000,000 baht out of a total budget of nearly 95,000,000 baht. At least one representative was bold enough to point out to a military-minded government that this great sum for defense was all out of proportion to other needs, especially when only 7,000,000 baht are to be used for the ministry of education. The government's program of popularizing the army with the students included one day at Bangkok Christian college. Requests were sent to all the Christian schools in the city to send their children to the display. Most of the older students came and many from the primary grades as well, so that nearly a thousand boys and girls were lined up in the hot sun to witness the arrival of tanks, heavy guns, anti-aircraft equipment and soldiers. The tanks performed and guns were fired; literature urging the need of greater forces was distributed; a high army officer pointed out that treaties were no longer a valid means of keeping peace; a selected group of soldiers and sailors sang national songs; and the medical unit took care of children who fainted from standing an hour or two in the hot sun. At present only the Christian church speaks for peace and disarmament, but its voice is almost lost in the clamor for a better army and navy.

* * *

Foreign Admirals Make A Friendly Visit

Within the past two months there have been naval visits from France, Great Britain and Japan, each country being represented by one or two ships and the ranking admiral in this part of the world. All of these countries are deeply interested in the future of Siam, the first two because of nearby colonies, and Japan because of the market for her goods. American influence here is small, for there are but few Americans in business. With the departure of Raymond B. Stevens, adviser to the ministry of foreign affairs, there is now no American voice in the government.

EDWARD MOWBRAY TATE.

Successor to Dr. Henry Howard Chosen

Fifth Avenue Presbyterian church, New York, has called to its pastorate, in succession to the late Dr. Henry Howard, Rev. John Sutherland Bonnell, who has been pastor for the past six years at the Westminster United church, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

F.O.R. Sponsors Peace Maneuvers

Program Designed as Antidote to Naval Maneuvers—Young Ministers Challenge Missions

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, April 6.—"Strange," remarked a friend a few days ago, "that over this coming weekend we should have running simultaneously in Chicago two conferences representing two such different conceptions of the Christian technique of international contacts. One represents the old and perhaps largely outgrown, carrying on because of momentum gained in the past; the other represents the new and vital, still a movement rather than an institution, firing the imagination of youth and commanding their enthusiasms."

* * *

Butler, Holmes, Palmer, Eddy, Address "Peace Maneuvers"

This newer technique, to which my friend referred, was that expressed in the Chicago peace maneuvers, conducted under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, most of the sessions being held in the New England Congregational church of which Theodore C. Hume is pastor. General Smedley D. Butler, the fiery anti-militarist marine, who dearly loves a scrap, and who spoke Saturday night on "War is a Racket," was perhaps the headliner, although that may be doubted with such speakers as Sherwood Eddy, Albert W. Palmer, Harold Bowman, Harold E. Fey and others on the program. Anyway, General Butler's name was the one that got most newspaper attention. But the important thing was not that men of power made speeches, but that this gesture of good will to Japan should be made at precisely the time that the naval maneuvers were to have been made menacingly near to the coast of Japan. The fact that those plans were canceled, largely because of the expressed opposition of the churches, and that these peace maneuvers were held, should go far to demonstrate the pacific intent of America. The maneuvers did not consist wholly of speeches and conferences. At noon Saturday a "cherry blossom procession" marched to the Japanese consulate where Albert W. Palmer gave a brief address, "America Speaks," to which a Japanese replied. At 2 that afternoon Dr. Isamu Tashiro, Japanese consul, spoke in New England church on "What is the Japanese attitude toward America?"

* * *

Missions Conference Not Enthusiastic

The other conference to which reference has been made was the Younger Men's missionary congress, held under the auspices of the Laymen's missionary movement in the Stevens hotel. This gathering, of course, represented the great institutionalized outreach of the Christian churches to the non-Christian world. It was an impressive gathering. Practically all the mission boards were back of it. One hundred missionaries, mission leaders, mission board executives, and denominational representatives spoke or led conferences. The big hour was the Sunday afternoon mass meet-

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ing addressed by Robert E. Speer, of New York, secretary of the Presbyterian foreign mission board. Many problems, of course, were up, but the question most in the forefront throughout was whether the spread of communism and fascism did not confront the Christian world with a challenge which only a reinvigorated missionary program could meet. The purpose of the conference was, quite frankly, to arouse increased enthusiasm and support for foreign missions. While the 1,200 delegates displayed a good deal of interest it must be said that this meeting was not characterized by the spontaneity, enthusiasm and confident sense of mission that marked the gatherings held in the early days of the Laymen's movement.

* * *

Younger Ministers Ask For Justification of Missions

Further, the methods and official findings did not go unchallenged. A group of younger men, led by Bradford Abernathy, of Columbia, Mo. (a son of the Washington correspondent of The Christian Century) called on the congress leaders to give proof that foreign missions offers a good field for the investment of life and money, and that, if so, the present methods of supporting missions are efficient. It would be a mistake to suppose that these questions represented opposition to the foreign missionary enterprise; but they did represent grave doubt concerning that enterprise, in all its aspects, as at present conducted. These young men were unwilling simply to be lined up in support of an unreconstructed missionary program.

* * *

Local Relief Situation Grows More Tense

In my last correspondence I remarked that the state legislature was showing reluctance to pass legislation that would provide the $36,000,000 a year for relief which the federal relief administration has designated as the amount that must be raised by the state if Illinois is to get its share of federal funds. No one seems seriously to question the fairness of the demand, but the legislature has refused to pass the revenue bills, and Harry L. Hopkins, the federal relief administrator, has refused to make an appropriation for Illinois. The consequences may be disastrous. Already 39 downstate counties have closed their relief stations; others have only sufficient funds to carry them for a little time. In his contributed editorial in the Daily News Graham Taylor charges (and, I think, makes good the charge) that the refusal of the general assembly to appropriate funds for relief is motivated by the "intent to discredit and discard the state emergency relief commission (which has controlled the distribution of relief) in order to get control of all relief funds." The state emergency relief commission, under Wilfred L. Reynolds' management, has done an admirable job. And, as Dr. Taylor says, the politicians are risking tragedy in their efforts to rule relief.

* * *

Church Groups Observe Anniversaries

The Salvation Army celebrated its 50th anniversary in Chicago over the weekend, and the Episcopalians celebrated the 100th anniversary of the organization of the diocese of Illinois a few days earlier. Col. William Evans, of Sebring, Fla., who, as staff-captain 50 years ago, led his little band of salvationists through Chicago's streets, returned as principal speaker. On Saturday afternoon an outdoor meeting was held on the spot on Chicago avenue, near Clark, where the army "lads and lassies" held their first evangelistic meeting. Where once they were met with taunts, jeers and sometimes violence, they now are held in universal respect.

More than 1,500 Episcopalians sat down to the centennial dinner held in the Hotel Sherman, and while they looked back gratefully at the growth from six to 250 churches in the past century, it was rather toward the coming century that they turned their eyes. Bishop George Craig Stewart was the principal speaker.

* * *

And So Forth

Opposition to the mayor's proposal to establish a Coney Island in Burnham park continues to mount. A great many civic organizations have protested it, and are opposing bills now before the state legislature which would make it possible.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Dickinson Festival

Thirty-Seven Choirs from Five States To Give Concert in Riverside Church

A Clarence Dickinson musical festival has been planned for Saturday, May 18, by the students and alumni of the school of sacred music of Union theological seminary, New York city, in honor of its founder and director. The occasion is the seventh anniversary of the establishment of this, the only graduate school of sacred music, and the fifth anniversary of the graduation of the first class. The program will include a recital by Dr. Dickinson at 4:15 o'clock which will be open to the public. In the processional at 8 o'clock, and the concert, 1,200 singers representing 37 church choirs will participate—700 adults and 500 children from five states.

It was at first planned to hold the festival in the seminary but it grew to such proportions that the cooperation of the Riverside church, whose pastor, Harry Emerson Fosdick, is a member of the faculty at Union seminary, was enlisted, and through his courtesy and that of the officers of the church the festival will be held there.

The choirs will be accompanied by violin, cello, harp, and a quartet of trumpets and trombones in addition to the organ. The service will be played by three graduates of the school who are now on its faculty: the processional by Hugh Porter, of the first class to receive the master's degree, the recessional by Luis Harold Sanford, and the choral accompaniments by Charlotte Lockwood. Clarence Dickinson will conduct the choral numbers. The soloist will be Corleen Wells, of the faculty, soprano soloist of the Brick church; Rose Bryant, contralto soloist of the Brick church; Harold Haugh, tenor soloist of West End Collegiate church; George C. Baker, jr., of the seminary, bass soloist, Church of All Nations.

The program, which will be broadcast by N.B.C., station WJZ, will consist entirely of Dickinson compositions, some of which are known in practically all our churches, have been sung throughout Europe, and have even been translated into Greek, Chinese and Japanese.

Legion Opposes 'Chair of Peace'

Legislative Ferment Produces Unusual Measures—South Shows Interest in Cultural Change

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

TAMPA, FLORIDA, April 30.—No peace demonstrations in Georgia are safe from the vigilance of the American Legion. The Atlanta post No. 1 has been in a state of hostility toward the chair of peace inaugurated at Brennau college, Gainesville, last year. The legion claims to have the same objectives as the college in desiring and promoting peace, but to hold to different policies and methods. The suggestion is made by them that President Pierce of Brenau should change the name from "Chair of Peace," to "Chair of Citizenship," which the legion frankly hopes might give itself to the propagation of "Americanism."

The legion says its objection to Jeanette Rankin, as head of the chair of peace, is on the ground of her relationship to communist organizations, such as the American civil liberties union. She is charged with favoring the overthrow of the United States government and with having advised high school students to "slack" R.O.T.C. training.

Miss Rankin replied to the legion that she was not connected with any communist movement whatever, and that the charge of her advocacy of the overthrow of the government by violence was absolutely untrue. She also denied ever advising students to strike against R.O.T.C. training, but said she did advise them to take seriously the command, "Thou shalt not kill," and carry it through to its logical conclusion.

Plans for the endowment of the chair of peace in Brenau college go on and the free discussion of the whole project is looked upon with great cordiality by the college officials.

* * *

Queer Legislative Proposals Afflict Southern States

Legislative matters and political pronouncements hold the spotlight in the southeast. With several legislatures now in session in southern states, many unusual bills are pending. In Florida, the legislature struggles with a reactionary measure outlawing chain stores in the state. The bill has passed the senate and is before the house. It is said to have little chance of actually becoming law, but it indicates the extent to which "crack-pot" legislation may run today. Other fantastic measures include a bill calling for the stopping and searching of all automobiles entering this state. This doesn't make sense, but there it is.

In Georgia the referendum on prohibition is set for May 15. Every temperance organization is active. Church leadership for the preservation of the Georgia prohibition laws is stronger than in past months. The experience of other states that have voted wet seems to have taught this state a lesson. The fight is a matter of dead earnestness with the drys. Days

of prayer are being observed by the Woman's Christian Temperance union.

South Carolina has been gathering reports on liquor control through free conferences and expects to pass a measure governing the sale and use of liquors in all the state territory this week.

North Carolina's state assembly in Raleigh moved to raise the state income tax from 6 to 10 per cent. This must be submitted to the voters. Classification of property for taxation and the placing of a limit on public debts are also measures being considered there.

* * *

Governor's Attack on Roosevelt Not Relished by Georgians

Eugene Talmadge, Georgia's farmer-governor, in a caustic attack on President Roosevelt and the administration policies recently, brought down the wrath of Georgia and other parts of the country upon him. His characterization of Roosevelt as "a radical in the extreme," called forth from Georgia democrats the demand that he join the republicans or start a party of his own. The governor has continued his criticisms, saying that the renomination of the President in 1936 would be a "calamity."

Bodies of good citizens all over the state have been passing resolutions setting forth that they are "absolutely opposed to, thoroughly ashamed of and deeply humiliated by," the governor's unwise and antagonistic remarks. Newspapers of the state have been uniformly outspoken in their denunciation of the attack.

Georgia's great loyalty to President Roosevelt is more than partisan and political now. He is the personal friend of the state, a part-time citizen, and they are not going to have him run down.

* * *

Florida Congregationalists Meet at Winter Park

Florida Congregationalists passed strong resolutions for the creation, by social legislation, of a more equitable working order and the maintenance of fair minimum wages and working hours. The 52nd annual conference of Congregational churches of Florida met at Winter Park, April 16 and 17. Ernest M. Halliday, New York, general secretary of the extension boards, delivered an address on home missions. Dr. Orlo Price discussed the church and state.

The conference for ministers, held in connection with the annual conference of the churches, was in charge of Leslie J. Barnette, of Coral Gables.

* * *

Build Memorial Chapel Honoring Corra Harris

A memorial chapel to Corra Harris, beloved Georgia writer who died recently, will be erected on the ground of her private estate near Cartersville. The chapel will stand over the grave of the author, and it is expected to become a favorite shrine. Cram and Ferguson, of Boston, architects for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, have drawn the plans for this little edifice, which will embody the best lines of southern architecture.

* * *

Church Leaders Support Anti-Lynching Bill

Senate filibustering over the Costigan anti-lynching bill on the part of southern representatives has brought forth much criticism from church leaders in the south. Senator Bailey, North Carolina, is leading the monotonous talk and threatening to read "the whole Book of Deuteronomy," to keep the matter from coming to a vote. The senate has refused the second time to sidetrack the bill. Strong resolutions have gone from church groups and pastors' conferences in the southeast in support of this measure. There have been many letters written in recent days in its support.

* * *

Races and Social Objectives Meet in Great Conference

An "All-Southern conference for civil and trade union rights" has been called for Sunday, May 26, in the Odd Fellows temple, Chattanooga, James Dombrowski, secretary of the Highlander folk school, Monteagle, and secretary of the conference, announces. All trade unions in the south, all economic, social, relief, religious, political and educational organizations, and all white and Negro workers, share-crop farmers and professional people, are called to the meeting. A higher standard of life in the south was the announced objective of the conference.

The conference set as another objective the defeat of gag legislation pending in congress. The rights of free speech, peaceful picketing of strikers and collective bargaining were emphasized.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

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Hold Bible Rally In Boston Garden

New England Tercentenary Observed In Church, School and Forum—Praise for Students' "Strike"

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, May 1.—Despite the confusing change to daylight-saving time and the allurements of the first summer weather, 16,000 people poured into the Boston garden, April 28, for the first "Bible demonstration" on this side of the water. Announcements of a circus and a prize-fight coming to the great arena were hidden by "Baraca" and "C. E." placards and the great motto: "The Word of God endureth forever!" George H. Spencer, of the Bible society, skilfully linked the occasion to the 400th anniversary of Coverdale's translation, and the 1200th of the Venerable Bede, who, with his dying breath, dictated the last sentences of an Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospel of John. Twenty-thousand copies of that gospel were distributed. A. Z. Conrad hailed the event as "history-making, unique in the annals of Boston and dedicated to a single proposition: The Bible *is* the Word of God. Critics may tear it to pieces, it still lives!" But the chief speakers were five laymen. Ex-Mayor Edwin O. Childs of Newton said: "The Bible means more than ever today. It alone can put God into industry and politics." Clarence W. DeMar, veteran of many "marathons," received an ovation. Said he: "My children, I am told, have five cravings. We all have them, and find them all satisfied in the Bible: comfort, security, power, recognition and new experiences." Howard W. Ferrin of Providence "let the Bible speak for itself," using its promises in a fervent evangelistic appeal. A chorus of 3,000 sang under the leadership of F. Carleton Booth. Resolutions were adopted by upraised Bibles. The vast assembly looked like a forest of palm-branches. Lewis E. Smith, of the New Evangelistic association, prayed: "May this movement sweep the country!" Greetings were sent to the "The National Bible day" to be held in England May 5. Allan C. Emery and his committee deserve high praise for so successful a demonstration of the popular loyalty to the citadel of Protestantism; and many so-called "liberals," though definitions and explanations may differ, were glad to join in such a tribute to "The Book of Books."

* * *

School Where Brooks Failed Has Tercentenary

For the first time in the history of the country the tercentenary of a public high school has been celebrated. President Roosevelt sent a message recognizing in its establishment, only five years after the founding of Boston, "the beginning of the education now provided for 6,000,000 youths in 26,000 public and private high schools." Its pupils were the schoolboys who, according to tradition, won their right to coast on the Common from a reluctant British general. Here Phillips Brooks decided that it was easier to reform the world than to make his class behave. He later looked upon it as "the instrument of God" in driving him into the ministry. "Latin school," testified its oldest living graduate, Henry M. Rogers of the class of 1858, "taught me that there is only one thing worth living for—to work for ideals." "If we had such an institution in every American city, we'd have no crime wave in America," said Governor Curley. A. Lawrence Lowell, president emeritus of Harvard, attributed its success to "the tenacity of its grip on high standards, insistence on hard work, and methods of self-education." The state commissioner of education, Payson Smith, paid tribute to this beginning of "the American way in education, not restriction to favored groups, but recognition in every boy of the man he may become." A letter from George Santayana, "a graduate in 1882, one of the greatest living philosophers," defended "a Latin education, which, instead of alienating us from our world, gives discernment of its achievements, balance, dignity and sane confidence in the future." Joseph P. Kennedy, of the Federal securities commission, portrayed that future as a better world in which everyone will share what has been the privilege of a few.

* * *

Three Centuries of Democracy Observed in Connecticut

Opening the tercentenary of the "Nutmeg state," Governor Cross facetiously remarked that "amid all the changes of three centuries there still persists the fear of what a governor may do!" Connecticut can not boast of as many picturesque and dramatic incidents as many of her sister states, but she can claim to be the pioneer of American democracy. The traditions of the Bay colony were aristocratic. But the spirit of freedom soon asserted itself. In 1635 Thomas Hooker led a company who sought a more popular government, from "Newtowne," now Cambridge, "through a trackless and hideous wilderness" to settle Hartford. The crisis of the Pequot war hastened the organization of the scattered settlements. They attempted representative government, without any executive. The constitution, adopted under the lead of Hooker in 1638, was the first written form of government, and embodies all the essential features of the constitutions of the American states and the republic itself as they are today.

* * *

And So Forth

While most of the leading dailies characterized the "students' strike" as puerile or ominous, the Christian Science Monitor said: "American universities and colleges see 150,000 students strike for one hour as a protest against war. The gesture, the largest ever made by students, is perfectly plain. Young Americans simply believe that war is barbaric, outmoded, unreasonable."

The Cape Cod association of churches, meeting on April 26, with 500 delegates, unanimously voted to call upon every church to work to "make Barnstable county dry in the next election." The report of Hilda L. Ives, of the state council, showing that its towns are overchurched and its ministers underpaid, led to a vote to push consolidations. A unique part of the program was the admission of the newly-formed Synagogue of Hyannis to full membership.

Edwin H. Cotton, in the Saturday Evening Transcript, recalls when Park Street church, Boston, 30 years ago, was on the point of accepting $1,000,000 for its site and moving to a suburb. He also remembers that those who responded to the appeal of the then new pastor, "that master of alliteration, Dr. Arcturus Zodiac Conrad," included "Unitarians against whom Park Street pulpit had thundered for three generations." Thus it happens that "Brimstone Corner" still stands.

"You can not legislate patriotism!" said E. T. Brady of Somerville, in the Massachusetts house of representatives; yet the bill requiring weekly recitation of the oath of allegiance in every school was passed 103 to 9.

The new rector of Emmanuel church, Phillips E. Osgood, addressing the Twentieth Century association, April 27, on "Trends of modern poetry," said: "During and after the great war, poetry kept its head better than any other department of life. In recent verse, we are finding religious certitudes."

E. TALLMADGE ROOT.

Methodist Historical Societies to Meet

The Association of Methodist Historical societies will hold its annual meeting on the spiritual birthday of John Wesley, May 24. The meeting, which will be held at 150 Fifth avenue, New York, will be addressed by Lynn Harold Hough, who will speak on "Methodism and Education from Cokesbury College On."

Dr. Dinwiddie, Temperance Leader, Dies

Edwin C. Dinwiddie, superintendent of the National temperance bureau, died May 5 at his home in Washington, D. C., at 68 years of age. Dr. Dinwiddie was prominent in the activities of the Anti-saloon league in its early years. He directed its campaigns up to the time of the enactment of the 18th amendment.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

G Men

(J. Cagney, M. Lindsay) (MGM) Gives some idea of training for secret-service work, but mostly tense, exciting portrayal of government fight against gangsters. Bloody massacres, bank robberies, with machine-gun killings by both sides. Some exaggerated heroics. Cagney in sympathetic role for a change.

For A: Very good of kind. For Y: Grimly exciting. For C: No.

Hold 'Em Yale

(Patricia Ellis, C. Romero) (Para) Artificial, overdrawn Damon Runyan story of gang of ticket-broker thugs and scatter-brained, uniform-dazzled heiress. When her idol deserts, rest of gang marry her to hero after all. Yale-Harvard game as setting for climax and excuse for meaningless title.

For A: Stupid. For Y: Certainly not. For C: No.

I'll Love You Always

(Nancy Carroll) (Columb) Devoted young country couple fight poverty in city in rather appealing style. Then he steals for her sake, serves jail term, and sentimen-

tal reactions of all concerned brings reward for his achievements and happiness for the pair. Queer ethics.

For A: Ordinary. For Y: Not good. For C: No.

Mr. Dynamite

(Edmund Lowe) (Univ) Another murder-mystery melodrama running true to usual, with mild variations. Three murders center around famous musician and concealed, death-dealing time-gun. Baffled district attorney indebted to wisecracking detective for solution. Too involved at times.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Richelieu

(George Arliss) (UA) Another polished portrayal of historical personality by Arliss against lavish background of 17th century France. Lytton's play modernized to advantage. Certain liberties with history compensated by convincing roles and sustained interest of plot and dialogue. Fine cast.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Very good. For C: Beyond them.

Star of Midnight

(William Powell, Ginger Rogers) (RKO) Entertaining, mystifying murder story in same gay, lively mood as "The Thin Man." Powell a debonair lawyer with flair for solving crimes, between drinks with unconventional heroine. Sophisticated, amusing dialogue, and smooth acting.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Ten Dollar Raise

(E. E. Horton, Karen Morley) (Fox) Pleasing little picture about timid, pin-saving bookkeeper, without raise for 18 years. Hopelessly in love but unable to marry on salary, he falls into wealth and buys out his boss. Horton's customary skilful comedy.

For A: Amusing. For Y: Good. For C: Perhaps.

Unfinished Symphony

(Foreign cast) (British Gaumont) Tragic, thwarted love for his pupil as reason for Schubert's great unfinished work is largely fiction. But picture is notable for much continental charm, pictorial beauty, and especially for the playing of the great Schubert music throughout.

For A: Very good. For Y: Excellent. For C: Probably.

Best Recent Films for Family:

Sequoia	David Copperfield
Baboona	The Little Colonel
Little Men	Life Begins at Forty

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Naughty Marietta	The Scarlet Pimpernel
The Good Fairy	Evergreen
Ruggles of Red Gap	One New York Night

BOOKS RECEIVED

Decisive Days in Social and Religious Progress, by Adna Wright Leonard. Abingdon, $1.50.

The Pilgrim Hymnal. Revised edition. Pilgrim Press, $1.50.

The Old Testament in the Light of Anthropology, by E. O. James. Macmillan, $1.75.

Scenes From the Mesozoic, by Clarence Day. Yale University Press, $2.50.

Frontier Folkways, by James G. Leyburn. Yale University Press, $3.00.

Paul Elmer More and American Criticism, by Robert Shafer. Yale University Press, $4.00.

The House of God, by Pierce Beaver. Eden Pub. House, St. Louis, 35 cents.

The Alleged Great-Aunt, begun by Henry Kitchell Webster, completed by Janet Ayer Fairbank and Margaret Ayer Barnes. Bobbs-Merrill, $2.00.

The Stagnation of Industry, its Cause and Cure, by Emil O. Jorgensen. James A. Bell Co., Elkhart, Ind., $2.00.

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